Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-95-247
Tuesday
26 December 1995

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Daily Report
Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-95-247 26 December 1995

CONTENTS

NOTICE: An * indicates material not previously disseminated in electronic form.

DUMA ELECTION ISSUES

Key Results

Initiative Group Confirms Proposing Yeltsin for President *[INTERFAX]* 1
Agrarian Party's Leader Comments on Elections, Duma *[INTERFAX]* 1
'Russia Is Our Home' Spent Most on Campaign *[ITAR-TASS]* 1
Runoff Elections To Be Held in Moscow Region *[ITAR-TASS]* 1
Further on 'Final Unofficial' Election Results *[ITAR-TASS]* 2

Election Guidelines

Rutskoy Seeks Commission To Probe Vote Rigging *[INTERFAX]* 2
IZVESTIYA: Millions of Voters Disenfranchised *[23 Dec]* 2

Commentary

Zyuganov Interviewed on Post-Election Development *[Bratislava PRAVDA 21 Dec]* 4
Gaydar: 'Retrograde Red Wave' Reached Russia *[Radio Rossii]* 5

INTERREGIONAL AFFAIRS

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 23 Dec 6
ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 26 Dec 6
CIS Border Guard Commanders Sign 26 Documents *[INTERFAX]* 7
Scientific Conference Examines Collective Security Treaty *[ITAR-TASS]* 8

RUSSIA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Meeting of Staskov, Mladic Causes 'Alarm' at NATO *[Moscow NTV]* 9
NATO's Bosnian Peace Plan, Russia's Role Assessed *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 22 Dec]* 9
Kozyrev Calls For Regional Integration With Asian States *[ITAR-TASS]* 10
Iran, Russia Discuss Expansion of Religious Cooperation *[Tehran IRNA]* 10
Last Nuclear 'Ammunitions' To Be Withdrawn From Ukraine *[INTERFAX]* 11

RUSSIA NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political Issues

Yeltsin's State of Nation Address Previewed *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 23 Dec]* 12
Yeltsin's Upper Chamber Attack Seen Targeting Shumeyko *[SEGODNYA 23 Dec]* 12
Prosecutor General Briefs Yeltsin on Elections, Crime *[ITAR-TASS]* 13
Kozyrev Pledges To Accept Yeltsin Decision on Resignation *[ITAR-TASS]* 13
Kozyrev Comments on Foreign Minister's Post, Duma Seat *[Moscow ORT]* 13
Shakhray Tenders Resignation After Parliamentary Elections *[ITAR-TASS]* 14
Chubays: Communists 'Do Not Need' Government's Resignation *[INTERFAX]* 14
Chernomyrdin Says Communists May Join Government *[ITAR-TASS]* 14
Zyuganov's Presidential Chances Viewed *[MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS 21 Dec]* 15
Zyuganov on Presidency, Intentions *[Moscow RTV]* 16

Rumored Cabinet Reshuffle Viewed *[SEGODNYA 23 Dec]* 17
Chances of Presidential Hopefuls Compared *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 21 Dec]* 18
Government Discussion of Regional Policy Issues *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 22 Dec]* 19
Primakov on SVR Priorities, Democratic Role *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 22 Dec]* 20
Security Official on Efforts To Destroy Intelligence Corps *[Moscow ORT]* 21
Foreign Intelligence Service No Longer Has Permanent Enemy *[INTERFAX]* 21

Military & Nuclear Issues

'No Information' About Leakage of Nuclear Materials *[ITAR-TASS]* 22
Aircraft Carrier, Warships Depart on 3-Month Voyage *[ITAR-TASS]* 22

Federal Assembly

Rybkin Declares State Duma Closed *[ITAR-TASS]* 22
Central Electoral Commission Completes Preliminary Count *[ITAR-TASS]* 23
Powers of Commission Drafting Code of Laws Extended *[ITAR-TASS]* 23
'Stalemate Situation' Predicted in New State Duma *[ITAR-TASS]* 23

Regional Affairs

EU Energy Supply Project for Kaliningrad Discussed *[YANTARNYY KRAY 5 Dec]* 24
Radioactive Substance Discovered on Train in Samara *[ITAR-TASS]* 24
Reportage, Commentary on Chechnya Elections, Conflict 25
Elections - 'Greatest Achievement' in 1995 *[ITAR-TASS]* 25
Zavgayev on Present Situation in Chechnya *[Radio Rossii]* 25
Chernomyrdin Rules Out Second Round of Force *[ITAR-TASS]* 26
Baturin: Military Situation Like 'Sandwich' *[ITAR-TASS]* 26
Interior Minister Accuses Dudayev of 'Genocide' *[Moscow NTV]* 26
Federal Spokesman Updates Situation *[INTERFAX]* 27
Gudermes Under Control of Federal Troops *[Moscow NTV]* 27
Federal Army Still Seen as Key to Peace *[MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS 23 Dec]* .. 28
Kovalev on Amnesty for Surrendering Arms *[Moscow RTV]* 29
Kovalev Says Dudayev Still Has 6,000 Militants *[Radio Rossii]* 29

Economic Issues

Controversy Over Rocket Engines for U.S. Discussed *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 22 Dec]* 29
Central Bank Moves To Avert Dollar Exchange Panic *[SEGODNYA 23 Dec]* 30
Economist: Russia To Enter Slump in 1996 *[ITAR-TASS]* 31

UKRAINE

International Affairs

Parliament Wants Russian Energy Pact Renegotiated *[INTELNEWS]* 32
Russian Official on Ties With Western Region *[VYSOKYY ZAMOK 16 Dec]* 32
Future of Black Sea Fleet at Donuzlav Uncertain *[Moscow RTV]* 33
Gromov Gives Russian Stance on Black Sea Fleet *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 22 Dec]* 33

National Affairs

Moroz Calls For National Debate on Constitution *[INTERFAX]* 34
Kuchma Sees Fresh Elections as 'Inexpedient' *[UNIAN]* 34
Cabinet Approves Procedure for Natural Gas *[UNIAN]* 35
Imminent 'Power Crisis' in Crimea Assessed *[GOLOS KRYMA 15 Dec]* 35

Crimean Parliament Speaker on Kiev Relations *[UNIAN]* 36

WESTERN REGION

Belarus

President, Prime Minister Meet Japanese Businessmen *[BELAPAN]* 37
Oil Joint Venture Deal Signed With Russian Companies *[BELAPAN]* 37
Interior Official Warns Ministry May Be Under KGB *[BELAPAN]* 37

Moldova

Reportage, Commentary on Elections in Dniester 37
More Than 48 Percent of Voters Cast Ballots *[Moscow Radio]* 37
Run-Off Elections for Most Districts *[ITAR-TASS]* 38
Majority of Voters Favor Independence *[INTERFAX]* 38
Southern Towns To Hold Polls on Joining Gagauzia *[BASAPRESS]* 38
Dniester Votes To Consolidate Statehood *[INFOTAG]* 39
Elections Seen Causing New Problems *[INFOTAG]* 40

CAUCASUS

Georgia

Shevardnadze Weekly Interview 25 Dec *[Tbilisi Radio]* 43
South Ossetian Official Favors Integration With North *[Tbilisi Radio]* 45
Interior Ministry Creates New Police Structure *[IPRINDA]* 45

Key Results

Initiative Group Confirms Proposing Yeltsin for President

LD2512181495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1546 GMT 25 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 25 (Interfax) — The Russian Central Electoral Commission today registered an initiative group of voters proposing President Boris Yeltsin for the Russian presidency.

The registration with the Central Electoral Commission enables an initiative group to begin collecting the 1 million signatures supporting its candidate for the Russian presidency.

When Olga Zastrozhnaya, a member of the commission, asked the group if Yeltsin knew about the initiative, the initiative group's leader Viktor Mironov said the law on presidential elections did not mention that the candidate's consent was necessary.

"The president will learn about this initiative from the press today," Mironov said.

Agrarian Party's Leader Comments on Elections, Duma

LD2212161895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1305 GMT 22 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 22 (Interfax) — Despite the Agrarian Party failure in the parliament elections, the new Duma should maintain its "agrarian base," party leader Mikhail Lapshin told newly-elected agrarian deputies at the final meeting of the old Duma's agrarian faction (51 members) Friday. (According to preliminary results released this morning, the federal candidate list of the Russian Agrarian Party gained support of only 3.95 percent of Russian voters - IF).

According to Lapshin, in addition to 20 deputies elected to the new Duma from the Agrarian Party, the new lower parliament chamber will have over 10 more Agrarians.

Independent candidates elected to the new Duma include ex-deputy chairman of the Russian parliament (till October 1991) and member of the Duma Agrarian Committee Valentin Agafonov (the republic of Chuvashia), Minister of Agriculture of the republic of Udmurtia Mikhail Koshkin, chairmen of the Federation Council Committee for Agrarian Policy and the Duma Committee for Agrarian Issues Vyacheslav Zvolinskiy and Aleksey Chernyshev and others. Agrarians were also elected from the Russian Communist Party, which has offered to delegate them to the Agrarian faction.

Lapshin said the "Agrarian base" can be maintained in the new Duma by forming a deputy group with the status of a parliament faction, whose formation will require 35 deputies.

The proposal of Lapshin was supported by the old Duma's Agrarian faction and newly-elected Agrarian deputies.

'Russia Is Our Home' Spent Most on Campaign

LD2212184095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1814 GMT 22 Dec 95

[By Igor Belskiy]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 22 (Itar-Tass) - Our Home is Russia, the bloc which appears to come third in the December 17 legislative elections, had the highest electioneering spending, close to 11 billion roubles, among contesting blocs, says a release circulated today by the Central Electoral Commission.

The ultra-nationalist Liberal Democratic Party and the liberal Yabloko bloc of Grigory Yavlinsky trailed with respectively some 10.5 and eight billion roubles.

Over five billion roubles has been spent in the election campaign by the Congress of Russian Communities, Ivan Rybkin's Bloc and Russia's Democratic Choice - Allied Democrats.

The political advertisement cost two to four billion roubles to My Fatherland, Women of Russia and Labour Union.

Nine blocs, including the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, the Pamfilova-Gurov-Lysenko bloc and Derzhava spent their election funds to the last rouble.

The Communist Party of the Russian Federation, which came in the elections first with the record 21.5 per cent of the vote, is said to have invested in the campaigning only one billion 200 million roubles.

Runoff Elections To Be Held in Moscow Region

LD2612103195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1026 GMT 26 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW December 26 (Itar-Tass) — The second round of elections of the head of the local administration of the Moscow Region will take place between 08.00 and 22.00 on December 30, a spokesman for the electoral commission of the Moscow Region told Tass.

At the December 17 elections of the head of the local administration of the Moscow Region, incumbent Governor Anatoliy Tyazhlov got 43 per cent of the votes and his rivals Valeriy Galchenko and Oleg Antonov — 14.58 and 13.98 per cent respectively.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

According to the law, however, a candidate needs no less than 50 per cent of votes in the first round in order to be elected. This did not happen, and for this reason the second round is to be held, in which Tyazhlov and Galchnko will stand for election.

Further on 'Final Unofficial' Election Results

LD2512172495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1649 GMT 25 Dec 95

[By Igor Belskiy]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 25 (Itar-Tass) — The Communist Party of the Russian Federation has come atop of the list of contenders in the parliamentary elections getting 22.31 per cent of the party list vote, according to final unofficial results announced by the Central Electoral Commission on Monday. Communists gained support of 15,151,293 out of 105,409,443 voters, the commission said.

The ultra-nationalist Liberal Democratic Party of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy followed communists with 11.06 per cent of the vote, or 7,509,125 ayes.

Two other election blocs who managed to surpass the 5-percent qualification barrier were the pro-government Our Home is Russia and the liberal Yabloko with 9.89 and 6.93 per cent of the vote, or 6,719,868 and 4,706,053 supporters, respectively.

Six parties which came closest to passing the barrier were Women of Russia with 4.6 per cent, the Communists - USSR bloc with 4.52 per cent, the Congress of Russian Communities with 4.29 per cent, the Party for Workers' Self-Rule with 4.01 per cent, the Democratic Choice of Russia — United Democrats with 3.9 per cent, and the Agrarian Party of Russia with 3.78 per cent of the vote.

Out of over 105 million ballots, 1,300,958 were considered invalid, the commission said.

Election Guidelines

Rutskoy Seeks Commission To Probe Vote Rigging

LD2212153795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1346 GMT 22 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 22 (Interfax) — Chairman of the Derzhava (Great Power) election bloc, former Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy spoke out against vote-rigging at the recent parliamentary elections and proposed the creation of an inspection commission.

At a news conference in Moscow on Friday he said that such commission should be created by the current Duma.

Rutskoy said his movement's activists "were able to show that 200 false ballot papers were added in Yaroslavl at the 129th ballot station." He also claims that at least in 15 cities of Russia his movement "won from 5.5 percent to 30 percent votes and that the official figure of 2.61 percent offered by the Central Electoral Commission do not reflect the real state of affairs."

Rutskoy claims that the reaction to his proposal to create a special commission "will reveal the political face of all parties and blocs." He also said that representatives of the Russian Communist Party "gave an evasive answer" to his proposal, while the rest "have offered no reaction so far."

IZVESTIYA: Millions of Voters Disenfranchised

MM2212195395 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Dec 95 pp 1, 2

[Commentary by Otto Latsis: "Election Results Confirm That the Rights of Millions of Voters Have Been Violated"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As expected, the results of the 17 December elections could be contested in the courts in view of the imperfection of the electoral law. This is attested by the statements of [Ivan Rybkin bloc leader and Duma speaker] Ivan Rybkin and ["Common Cause" leader] Irina Khakamada on the advisability of appealing to the Constitutional Court over the fact that representation has not been guaranteed for half the voters.

At the 17 December elections I voted for one of the parties which failed to poll 5 percent of the vote. But I should not be classed as belonging to an electoral minority. I belong to the majority: that majority which is today deprived of the right to representation in parliament. In this connection, the State Duma itself, which does not include spokesmen for the views and interests of the majority, scarcely has the right to call itself, in accordance with the Constitution, a representative organ. Four parties, which will share among themselves all 100 percent of the seats in the proportional half of the Duma, collected (according to the results as of 21 December) a combined total of 49.6 percent of the electorate's votes. The rest, who will receive nothing, collected 50.4 percent.

I look especially amusing alongside the voter who not only voted on the party lists for one of the parties which got in but who also backed a winning candidate from this party in a single-seat district. He will be represented in the Duma in three ways: through his vote in the single-seat district, through his vote on the party list,

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

and...at the expense of my vote on the party list, which has been unjustly appropriated by parties which are alien to me. Because I (since there was no candidate from the party I support in the single-seat district) will not be represented at all, through no fault of my own. But what respect can the Duma expect from the electorate, when its very composition is based on ignoring the will of the majority?

The result is even worse than under the old despotism of the CPSU. Then at least I was openly deprived of the right to choose; now I am still not given a democratic choice, but insult has been added to injury.

That the law is bad and deliberately tailor-made to suit the interests of the major parties was suggested long before the elections However, even the thesis that it benefits major parties provokes doubts, because in many cases it would be more accurate to talk of party leaders and the apparatus, of quasiparty cliques. This is shown especially clearly by the LDPR's [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] double failure (in 1993 and 1995) in single-seat districts. The party which took second place in the proportional vote, collected more than 11 percent of the votes, and will receive more than 22 percent of the seats (not less than 46 seats) on its party list, in single-seat districts won...one seat out of 225, whereas seven associations which did not clear the 5-percent barrier received more than one seat in single-seat districts and 11 of them received one seat each.

We are faced with a phantom party which not only bears the name of Liberal Democrat on inexplicable grounds, since its ideology contains neither liberalism nor democratism, but which it is highly dubious to call a party at all, if it could not offer the voters attractive personalities. It has a leader who has caught pretty well the tastes of a certain (judging by sociological polls, not the most enlightened) section of the electorate and who has learned to play on the dreams and prejudices of this section. But the Law on Elections which has artificially hauled such a politician to the summit in no way helps the achievement of its stated task: to speed up the formation of a democratic one-party system. Moreover: In view of the presidential ambitions of this politician and his well-known dictatorial ways, it is possible to claim that the undemocratic law which props him up jeopardizes the very existence of democracy in the country.

In many countries (if not in the majority) there is no proportional vote at all; the entire parliament is composed of deputies who offer themselves personally to the voters at elections. But if the very device of electing half the Duma on party lists provokes well-grounded objections, equipping this mechanism with a 5-percent barrier to boot has turned a dubious system into one that is completely absurd. This was not so obvious in 1993, when there were 13 rather than 43 party lists, and the parties which cleared the barrier were backed by 87 percent, rather than 49.5 of the electorate. Today its absurdity has become obvious.

The old Duma rejected the proposals of many deputies to make the Law on Elections more democratic. Then it rejected similar proposals from the Russian president. And on the very eve of the elections it rejected an appeal from a group of deputies who proposed, on the basis of the forecasts already known, to change or abolish the 5-percent barrier altogether. Finally, the Constitutional Court then refused to examine a suit questioning the constitutionality of the Law on Elections.

It is possible (and necessary) to speak of the civic responsibility of political leaders who intensified the fragmentation of forces on the democratic wing, which in 1993 had already inflicted considerable damage. It is possible to dispute the appropriateness of the political purism of Yegor Gaydar, who in the name of adhering to honorable rules of the game did not support the last appeal to revise the law, suggesting that the rules should not be changed after play has begun, although he knew about the unfavorable forecast for his own party. On the other hand, our political arena does not suffer from a surfeit of honor, and hence even an honor which smacks of Don Quixotism could prove extremely practical from the strategic viewpoint. Finally, there are various opinions on the justification for the Constitutional Court's refusal to examine the suit — it is known that the court itself was not unanimous in this decision and that a special opinion exists. But the most important thing is to determine what can be done right now in order to avoid political tension called forth by the indignation of the majority of voters who, through no fault of their own, have been made to look complete fools....

The Constitutional Court's ruling has left the door ajar, precisely because the question was not examined, and, therefore, could still be examined. There are far more grounds to insist on this now, because we are faced not with the hypothetical violation of voters' rights but a violation that has actually taken place. It is the defense of the constitutional principle of citizens' equal rights that should, it seems to me, be the focus of attention. I write this because anonymous "constitutional law specialists" hastened to state in a commentary to INTERFAX, in connection with Irina Khakamada's statement about the advisability of a new appeal to the Constitutional Court, that "it is evidently becoming impossible" to assess in the courts the representativeness of the lower chamber since the Law on Elections

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

does not define in what event the Duma becomes representative. In other words, it is impossible to contest the constitutionality of an undemocratic law because there are other gaps in it as well.

Let us leave representativeness aside. Human rights are the most fundamental question examined in our Constitution. They have been violated beyond any doubt. Article 19 Point 2 of the Russian Constitution reads: "The state guarantees equal human and civil rights and freedoms irrespective of...a citizen's convictions or membership of public associations...." But the Law on Elections has given advantages to members of parties over nonparty people and to supporters of some parties over supporters of others. From Article 55: "Laws which abolish or which decrease human and civil rights and freedoms must not be issued in the Russian Federation." From Article 45: "The state's protection of civil and human rights and freedoms in the Russian Federation is guaranteed." From Article 46: "Everyone is guaranteed judicial protection of his rights and freedoms."

The question may arise: But what about the well-known provision that a law does not have retroactive force? I will reply: It does not matter, because there is no such provision. The principle formulated in the Russian Constitution is not so primitive. Article 54 Point 1 says: "A law which establishes or which increases liability does not have retroactive force." This, therefore, applies to criminal laws, and not just any criminal law at that but only one which increases liability. We are dealing instead with an electoral law whose undemocratic provisions can be corrected even without annulling the results of the elections which have just taken place.

But irrespective of the outcome of the forthcoming litigation, which, judging by the statements of Ivan Rybkin and Irina Khakamada, cannot be avoided, it is the right time for democratic politicians to ponder also the prospects for the presidential elections in the light of the bitter lesson they have received. There is no doubt that in a one-on-one confrontation between a supporter and an opponent of democratic and market reforms, the supporter of reforms would win. This is confirmed by the results of all elections and referenda in recent years, including the elections just held, in which the left-wing and nationalist parties overall polled not more than 40 percent of the vote. But this is the case only in a one-on-one confrontation. Will such a contest take place, or will the supporters of reforms, fragmented into tiny factions, defeat themselves in the first round of the presidential elections, leaving us with a choice in the second round between Zyuganov and Zhirinovskiy? Then no one will be able to complain.

Commentary

Zyuganov Interviewed on Post-Election Development

AU2212130395 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Dec 95 pp 1, 12

[Interview with Gennadiy Zyuganov, chairman of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, by Jaroslava Ducajova; place and date not given: "The Pendulum Has Swung Convincingly to the Left"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Ducajova] How do you assess the election results, albeit only preliminary?

[Zyuganov] Our lead does not surprise us. In the election campaign we opted for a different strategy from the other blocs and parties. We were not seen on television so much, but we were present in all the large centers and went to even the most remote little villages. We met people face to face and saw in their eyes their pain, demands, and needs. This showed us what had to be done and pushed through. Equally important was that our platform, our program, is permanent and legible, and people know what we stand for. On the other hand, it helped us that the others kept making promises, but they no longer have the support of the people, who saw that their previous promises had been unfulfilled. We also have a good organizational structure, a strong team, and hard-working people.

[Ducajova] Do you consider the huge size of the Russian Federation, the number and diversity of the population when assessing the present domestic political situation? Is it possible radically to change the course of domestic political developments and are you planning such a change in the first place?

[Zyuganov] As someone who originally studied mathematics and physics, I know the laws governing the movement of large bodies. If you turn the helm of a large vessel sharply, the entire cargo will move and the waves will sweep down over everyone, including the people on the captain's bridge. We thus view the situation realistically. We cannot change the course of developments in Russia radically, but, similarly, it is impossible to continue along the present course, because the ship would sink just as well.

[Ducajova] Western businessmen assess the situation in Russia as unstable, particularly the taxation system. They are afraid of investing here. After your election victory, they could become even more restrained. What is your attitude toward foreign investment in Russia?

[Zyuganov] We have had a meeting with representatives of over 200 foreign firms, in which we discussed

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

this problem at length. We are in favor of foreign investment, but reasonable investment, investment in technology and manufacturing. It is necessary to think in a longer-term perspective and not just spend money. Even potential investors, people interested in cooperation with us, say, "We would like to invest in your country, but all that your people are interested in is bribes. And even when they take bribes, they do not keep their promises." That is why they are not investing their money here. It is not a communist government that deters them, but the lack of stability. When potential cooperation partners will see that a project can yield profit and that agreements will be adhered to, they will invest.

[Ducajova] In what direction do you think Russia's foreign policy should move? Which foreign policy priorities will the communists be asserting?

[Zyuganov] It must be a policy of goodneighborly relations. With the East and the West. We will be emphasizing good relations with our immediate neighbors. But it is necessary to live in peace and friendship with everyone.

[Ducajova] What about relations with the United States?

[Zyuganov] It is the largest and most important country in the world. During its 200-year history, we have had periods of excellent, complicated, and also tense relations. We advocate the need for long-term good relations with the largest state in the world. But not on the basis of military confrontation, which is not good for either side or anyone on this entire planet. Bad relations with the United States do not benefit anyone. Mankind would not sustain a new round of arms; we would simply bury our planet, which is already suffering from oversaturation with arms.

[Ducajova] What do you think of the success of the left-wing forces in Russia. Is this a trend valid for the whole of Europe, for the world?

[Zyuganov] It is a law-governed feature of the European political process and one that we predicted. The pendulum has swung convincingly to the left, which the whole of East Europe sufficiently confirms. We have been saying this all year and I was being criticized, berated, railed at, and abused for it. Now even those who only yesterday were arguing with me and criticizing me will want to conduct a dialogue.

[Ducajova] In your pre-election speeches you spoke about the possibility of restoring the Soviet Union. Various commentators in our country are panicking that, after the elections, you will also want to restore CEMA and the Warsaw Pact....

[Zyuganov] Good economic cooperation has never harmed anyone, quite the opposite. Why are they not frightening you with conflicts, wars, and the theft, shipments, and proliferation of weapons, nuclear materials, and narcotics? Our country has become the second largest transloading center for narcotics; people are being threatened with dangerous infectious diseases spread by masses of refugees. We have 6 million of them.... And what if fissile materials fall into irresponsible hands? You should have a greater fear of that, not of responsible people with a moderate program and a very solid team of workers. You need not be afraid of those.

Gaydar: 'Retrograde Red Wave' Reached Russia

LD2212142795 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 22 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Yegor Gaydar gave a news conference in the State Duma today. Commenting on the election results, he said, in particular:

[Begin Gaydar recording] If anyone before 17 December had the illusion that the retrograde Red wave that has swept across eastern Europe would not reach Russia, he has, unfortunately, seen it dispelled. As should have been expected, the wave turned out to be quite powerful and far more dangerous than in eastern Europe. That is perhaps the main lesson from the recently held elections.

Second, the elections were a demonstration of what comes of the irresponsibility of politicians who think of their own ambitions and then of how to get into the Duma at any price in a first-past-the-post constituency, and who do not think of the consequences for the electorate, and so on.

That is how the democrats forfeited several percent of the votes, and that is why the liberal part of our spectrum will not be very strongly represented in the new Duma.

Third, I am glad that the first-past-the-post constituencies voted in quite a lot of our allies and members of our party, and that we will be represented in the next State Duma by such colorful people as Sergey Kovalev, Yuliy Rybakov, Eduard Vorobyev, Sergey Yushenkov, and many, many others.

Yesterday, we held a meeting of the Political Council and decided that our group of deputies would evidently be operating independently. It will not join any of the other groups, and it will consistently champion our liberal views in the next Duma. [end recording]

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 23 Dec

LD2312074495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0624 GNT 23 Dec 95

["Press Review" — ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 23 (Itar-Tass) — The recent elections to the State Duma remain in the focus of the Russian press.

"Izvestiya" says that a big scandal might flare up when summing up the final results of the vote in a commentary by the newspaper's political observer Otto Latsis who comes out in support of an appeal lodged with the Constitutional Court by Ivan Rybkin and Irina Khakamada elected to the new Duma from single-mandate constituencies. Both Rybkin and Khakamada said that the interests of at least half of all voters who took part in the parliamentary elections on December 17 were not represented at the State Duma. The inadequate law on elections allows the votes cast in favour of parties and blocs which have not cleared the five per cent mandatory barrier to be distributed on a proportional basis between the winning parties and blocs. The LDP [Liberal Democratic Party] bloc which won over 11 per cent on the federal party ticket, but which practically has no candidates elected from single-mandate constituencies, will have its membership in parliament increased at the expense of votes cast in favour of other blocs, Latsis said. Democrats have paid a high price for the ambitions of its leaders. Communists and nationalists will have around 60 per cent of votes in the new Duma, Izvestiya's analytical experts said.

"Komsomolskaya Pravda" and "Trud" carry reports from the Chechen town of Gudermes seized by Chechen militants and blockaded by federal troops. The "Red Star" daily, commenting on the new large-scale provocation launched by Dudayev's militants says that "the elections held in Chechnya have practically removed Dudayev from social and political arena. His return to the previous positions by an evolutional or democratic means is clearly impossible now. The only thing he can do now is to throw into a battle the remainder of his loyal supporters and mercenaries. Although activating military operations is rather an act of agony, strong confrontation might continue for some time yet," the newspaper said.

In another article, "Komsomolskaya Pravda" says that the seven Russian pilots held hostage since August 3 will be released by "Taleban" leaders on December 30. The newspaper said that it was not the first time that the "Taleban" had promised that, adding that it had violated all the deadlines previously set for the pilots' release. However, this time there is a hope that the pilots will be set free thanks to serious word carried out by the Russian Foreign Ministry in response to the "Taleban's" demands to clarify the fate of Afghan citizens who had allegedly been forcibly interned to the former Soviet Union in the 1980s. The protocols handed over to the "Taleban" at its request say that there are no such people in Russia, the newspaper said.

"Rossiyskiye Vesti" carries an article by Tatyana Sadkovskaya entitled "Do you respect us", in which the author analyses the canvassing campaign, including sociological polls and TV advertisements. "The majority have voted, relying on their intuition and previous life experience, rather than on the information received during the election campaign," the author concluded.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 26 Dec

LD2612064495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0633 GMT 26 Dec 95

["Press Review" — ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW December 26 (Itar-Tass) — Today's Moscow-based Russian newspapers comment on military actions in the Chechen town of Gudermes.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries an article headlined "The developments in Gudermes have clearly shown that Dudayev men are against peace in Chechnya".

The newspaper is of the opinion that "through active combat actions in Gudermes, Dudayev men sought to make it clear that the armed confrontation is not yet over, that they are still capable of controlling individual areas of the republic and that they are still strong enough".

The newspaper points out that well-trained and well-armed detachments still remain at the disposal of Dudayev. "During the fighting for Gudermes (December 14-23), the militants' density of fire mounted up to 75 grenade launcher rounds per armoured vehicle of Federal forces. This primarily indicates that Dudayev men maintain permanent channels, through which they are being supplied by arms and ammunition", the newspaper notes.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA believes that the militants' withdrawal from Gudermes does not signify the new regime's complete and final triumph. The newspaper is of the opinion that this is evidenced by special attention being paid by Shamil Basayev and other field commanders to areas that avoided large-scale combat operations during the war.

"In a word, the situation in a number of areas again looks like a puff-pastry pie stuffed with powder. And it

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

is totally unclear what will come next, after Gudermes. One thing is clear — developments will not end at that".

PRAVDA, discussing the topic, believes that "Dydayev men have withdrawn from Gudermes by no means to their 'winter quarters' and not for the sake of carrying on the 'negotiations on disarmament'.

"Now that Doku Zavgayev won the elections in Chechnya, the Dudayev supporters have lost their last arguments in favour of the 'legitimacy' of their regime. Nothing is left for them but fear of retribution for the perpetrated crimes and intent to take revenge on their own people who voted for peace and stability".

TRUD on elections in Chechnya.

The newspaper believes that the elections in the Chechen Republic have shown only that society has been split. "There is a rather large proportion of people, who have got sick and tired of the military confrontation. Many of them went to the polls to say 'no' to the war. But this does not meant at all that they are in favour of Zavgayev. The attitude to him, even among those who voted for him is rather unambiguous. It scarcely differs from their attitude to Avturkhanov or Khadzhiyevbefore that. As for the rest of the population, they still remain pro-Dudayev in many respects."

ROSSIYKSIYE VESTI runs an interview given to Itar-Tass by Yuriy Baturin, Assistant to the President of Russia on National Security Affairs. The Presidential assistant disagreed with the opinion of some people in Russia that the elections in Chechnya have had a negative outcome, since Doku Zavgayev's win prompted Dudayev militants to increase their military activity and disrupt the peace process in Chechnya.

"I regard the elections as this year's biggest achievement in Chechnya, considerig everything — military and political successes, and peace negotiations," Baturin emphasised. He voiced confidence that control over the territory will be regained in the foreseeable future.

ROSSIYKSAYA GAZETA on the 1995 elections to the State Duma.

The newspaper wonders who will be a new Speaker of the Lower House of the Russian parliament.

"As practice has shown, Speaker carries great weight, particularly in complex politicial moments. Historical experience, including that gained by the young Russian democracy, also indicates that a person, who does not adhere to extreme views, should preside over and guide the Duma proceedings".

In the opinion of the newspaper, the best Speaker for the new Duma would be a representative of Parliamentary Centrists, who can conduct a constructive dialogue and effectively cooperate with the Government and the Presdient, and not the one representing the Communists, the Liberal Democrats, or the Yabloko bloc.

IZVESTIYA on situation forecasts for the coming years.

The newspaper carries an interview with Yegor Gaydar, leader of Russia's Democratic Choice — United Democrats electoral bloc, which has suffered a setback at the Duma elections.

In a forecast for the situation in the next two-to-three years, Gaydar said his opinion is that "Russia is on the threshold of new upheavals".

Gaydar believes that it will be extremely difficult for the few Democrats in the new Duma to unite. But this is possible if they draw lessons from their own errors made in the run-up to the elections, he pointed out.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries an interview with Aman Tuleyev, Member of the Federation Council, the Upper House of the Russian parliament, who expressed consent to run for the Presidency at the forthcoming elections, if Boris Yeltsin will participate in them.

"Let us see what the President will decide. If the policy course in the country does not change, in one or two years' time, I am afraid, we shall reach a point when it would be difficult to restore anything. Therefore I believe that I jsut have got to participate in the forthcoming Presidential elections," Tuleyev said.

CIS Border Guard Commanders Sign 26 Documents

LD2212200395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1626 GMT 22 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] DUSHANBE, Dec 22 (Interfax) — The Council of CIS Border Guard Commanders signed 26 documents coordinating border policy throughout the Commonwealth and especially along the Tajik-Afghan border at its conference in Dushanbe on Friday.

The conference was chaired by the director of the Russian Federal Border Service, (FBS) Andrey Nikolayev, Deputy FBS Director Lt. Gen. Aleksandr Manilov told a news conference summing up the council's results.

Among the documents he named the Russian-Turkmen agreement on the presence of up to 1,000 Russian border guards and Russian military advisers in Turkmenistan. The joint document signed by Kyrgyzstan, Russia and the Tajik Security Ministry envisages the three countries' cooperation in combating smuggling of drugs and psychotropic substances towards the Tajik-Afghan border in the area of Gorno-Badakhshan.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Manilov noted progress towards creation of a single information space for the CIS border troops. According to him, an agreement on cooperation of the CIS border troops in terms of research activities was worked out and signed for the first time.

Manilov favored extending the term of Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Kazakh military units, which expires on December 31. They support Russian and Tajik border guards who protect the Tajik-Afghan border where the situation is still tense. A relevant proposal on the results of the Dushanbe conference, said Manilov, will be advanced at the council of the CIS heads of state to take place in January 1994.

Among the main problems of the CIS border troops, Manilov named completion of their formation, the creation of relevant infrastructures and the drawing closer of CIS legislation on border problems. The solution of these problems and elaboration of coordinated border policy will promote cooperation in ensuring better protection of the CIS external borders, he said.

Scientific Conference Examines Collective Security Treaty

LD2212183395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1613 GMT 22 Dec 95

[By Sergey Ostanin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 22 (Itar-Tass) — A two-day scientific conference on the implementation of the treaty of collective security ended at the headquarters of coordination of military cooperation of CIS countries on Friday.

During the conference, the leadership of the headquarters, representatives of the Defence Ministries of the treaty participants, members of military, scientific and state organisations of Russia, and other institutions of the Commonwealth discussed various aspects of cooperation to work out approaches of the implementation of the treaty.

The participants in the conference adopted a draft concept on the coordination of the activity with the personnel of Defence Ministries of countries-members of the treaty to be submitted into consideration to the council of defence ministers of CIS countries.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Meeting of Staskov, Mladic Causes 'Alarm' at NATO

LD2512205795 Moscow NTV in Russian 1900 GMT 25 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The arrival of U.S. assault troops, the main part of the international contingent in Bosnia, keeps getting deferred, and for reasons much more serious than the recent snowfalls. We have learned that the recent meeting between General Staskov, deputy commander of the Russian contingent, and Gen. Ratko Mladic, military leader of the Bosnian Serbs, has caused much alarm at NATO command and in the United States. The question being asked there is just what the Russian general has to discuss with a man whom an international tribunal has declared a war criminal.

NATO's Bosnian Peace Plan, Russia's Role Assessed

MK2212145995 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Dec 95 p 4

[Report by Vladimir Nikolayev: "The War in Bosnia Is Not Over. A New Imbalance of Forces Is Emerging"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] What will happen next? Forecasts can only be built starting from the line the Americans pursued in Dayton. Clearly, the most reliable disengagement of the warring sides is the state border. This option was not accepted, however. Was it that they simply did not want to give in to the disobedient Serbs? Or perhaps the West does not in principle need an alliance between the Union Republic of Yugoslavia and the Bosnian Serbs, because this will be a poorly controlled entity creating a threat to order, stability, and security — the way NATO understands it — and emerging as the center of a new Yugoslav integration? If the whole issue had been simply about peace, this would have been achieved long ago. It would have been enough to agree with the Serb option for the division of Bosnia. What is in effect involved is a rather small territory by European standards. Yet, to all appearances, the NATO countries do not need such a peace.

Instead, NATO troops are being introduced into Bosnia and Herzegovina, which will separate the present enemies. The lifting of the weapons embargo in the region will help to quickly supply additional arms to the Muslims and Croats. Sanctions against the Union Republic of Yugoslavia were only suspended and will be resumed automatically as soon as NATO asks for it. Incidentally, this means not only an unprecedented replacement of the UN with the North Atlantic Alliance, but also that, in spite of Russian diplomats' endeavors, it has once again proved impossible to activate the voting mechanism in the UN Security Council to enable Russia to exercise its "veto" power.

What next? Elections and a legitimate authority, which will resolve everything peacefully by itself, without NATO? The problem of the Serbian part of Sarajevo will resolve itself somehow? The Serbs will quietly accept the trial of the war criminals Karadzic and Mladic? It is difficult to believe in such an idyll after 250,000 people were killed in the region.

A different scenario appears more realistic. As is known, under Appendix 1-B, heavy weapons and aviation are to be sharply downsized with respect to the Serbs and increased with respect to the Muslims and Croats, the correlation being 1:2 in favor of the latter. This does not look like a balance of forces. Or maybe the Americans simply decided to use a force option, when peace and order are ensured through a full victory by one side?

If this is so, everything falls into place. Then it becomes clear why the Serb peace plan was rejected. First they will heavily arm the Croats and the Muslims, and then they will see how the Serbs behave. If quietly, then there will be elections and a single Bosnia and Herzegovina. If not, then why not repeat, with Muslim and Croat hands, the operation on a larger scale, like in Serb Krajina? The Serbs will again turn into refugees and, to all appearances, will find refuge in the Union Republic of Yugoslavia. The latter, faced with the threat of resumed sanctions, will not dare resist. At the same time, this will be a good lesson for other countries not to disagree with NATO. In other words, it may well be that Dayton's objective is not peace but preparation for a show punishment. Incidentally, this must be the reason for such a fierce dispute over control of the Russian military contingent as part of future NATO forces in Bosnia. The absence of due control over it could seriously hamper the implementation of far-reaching plans. True, all the above is merely a supposition and cannot be backed up by any documents yet.

If another country were in Russia's place, which, just like us, were subjected to strong pressure by the West, it would probably take the following stance: On no account quarrel with NATO, but act on the sly to prevent a final settlement in Bosnia. The reason for this is clear — to divert NATO's attention, make them sink deeper into their own problems, and thus gain time for putting its own house in order.

Russian policy is, of course, quite different. Involuntarily, we are forcing our opinion to be reckoned with, because our volunteers are fighting in the Balkans, while Russian media often sympathize with the Serbs. Who knows whether this will not result in a second Spain of 1939? So far, not without assistance from some NATO

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

countries, we have ourselves bogged down in Chechnya. Russia, which was present in Dayton as an extra, honestly intends to participate in disengaging the warring sides in Bosnia and thus promises the West that it will not disturb the balance of forces in that country. This seems to be enough for the Americans.

Kozyrev Calls For Regional Integration With Asian States

LD2212153295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1502 GMT 22 Dec 95

[By Aleksandr Valiyev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 22 (Itar-Tass) — Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev in his address to a group of orientalist scientists today called on broad regional integration of Asian parts of Russia and Asian countries.

He said one of priorities in Russia's foreign policy is to create favourable conditions for cultivation of ties between the Asian regions and for reassuring them they are not abandoned by the federal centre.

According to Kozyrev, this is of special import for growth in the Russian Far East, which is a prerequisite for successful implementation of Russia's foreign policy in the Asia-Pacific region.

"The contrast between the results of the State Duma elections in European and Asian parts of Russia deserves deep analysis," Kozyrev said, referring to the massive showing for communists and ultra- nationalists in these regions in the December 11 legislative elections.

According to Kozyrev, weaknesses of Moscow's regional policies, inadequate attention to the regions and to their specific features underlined their preferences in the latest elections.

The regional cooperation in Asian parts of Russia is lagging behind European Russia, Kozyrev said, adding that the Asian regions have some cooperation, but it lacks dynamism and intensity.

"It is an absurd talk for Russia whether it may have greater interests in the West or East. Any success and advancement in the Western direction strengthens our positions in the Eastern one, and vice versa," Kozyrev said.

He said Russia should not join Western alliances aimed against the East, and the building up of Russia's relations with many countries should not affect interests of third parties.

Kozyrev said it is important that Eastern CIS states integrate on a new basis. However, he added, the integration should account for the historical background, in particular for the fact that the population of the CIS states "is oriented towards the Russian culture".

The Eastern group of the CIS states begin to seek their role in the Asia-Pacific region, and Russia could assist them in making the newly emerging relations to improve rather than damage the joint CIS potential, Kozyrev said.

He said Russia's cooperation with Japan is being impeded by the legacy of unresolved issues.

"Probably the further strengthening of the ties with China will allow to intensify this inter-regional cooperation," the minister said.

However, Russia should continue efforts to normalise its relations with Tokyo, he pointed out.

As for Russia's relations with China, which is first on the list of foreign visits of Russian President Boris Yeltsin next year, Kozyrev described them as "normal, partner and friendly, yet without ideological hugs and ideological confrontation".

The same applies to India, he went on. Moscow also retains "great possibilities" on the Korean peninsula, Kozyrev said.

Russia is in active dialogue, including on security and confidence issues, with the ASEAN states.

However, economic facets of this cooperation are lagging behind political ones, Kozyrev admitted.

"I am not inclined to underrate the politico-military component, but the central focus should be on the economy," Kozyrev said.

Iran, Russia Discuss Expansion of Religious Cooperation

LD2312091795 Tehran IRNA in English 0752 GMT 23 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Dec. 23, IRNA — The expansion of Irano-Russian cooperation in religious affairs were reviewed in a meeting held here on Friday between the head of the Islamic Propagation Organization (IPO), Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohammad Mohammadi Araqi, and Moscow Friday prayer leader Ravil Gaynalldin.

Araqi announced IPO's readiness to cooperate in the construction of the facade, as well as in carpeting and decorating a big mosque which is being built in the

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

vicinity of a memorial in Moscow commemorating the victims of World War II.

Moreover, he said that Iran's theological centers and Tehran University are ready to admit those who are interested in Islamic sciences.

He added that the Islamic Republic of Iran could also send teachers who are experts in the Turkish language to teach the holy Qu'ran in Russia.

Referring to the outstanding developments in political and economic relations between Tehran and Moscow, Araqi expressed hope that collaboration among the religious scholars of the two countries would also increase.

Last Nuclear 'Ammunitions' To Be Withdrawn From Ukraine

LD2512185595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1617 GMT 25 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, December 24 (Interfax) — The last nuclear ammunitions will be withdrawn from Ukrainian territory to Russia before the end of the year, Colonel General Igor Sergeyev, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Strategic Rocket Forces, told Interfax.

According to him, "an agreement has been reached with the former Soviet republic on the purchase by Russia of 32 SS-19 strategic rockets at a residual cost." These rockets are complexes based in the silo launchers, the General explained.

Placing these rockets on combat duty is not in conflict with the international agreements. In keeping with them Russia is allowed to have 105 launching sites, the Commander-in-Chief said.

In keeping with the statement signed by the Presidents of the United State, Russia and Ukraine in Moscow in January 1994, nuclear warheads are to be withdrawn from Ukraine to Russia in exchange for fuel for the Ukrainian NPPs [nuclear power plants].

In doing so, the American side has committed itself to finance the reprocessing of highly-enriched uranium contained in the warheads for its subsequent use as nuclear fuel. According to the Nunn-Lugar programme, Ukraine is to get from the United States 350 million USD [U.S. dollars] for nuclear disarmament.

Around 13 hundred warheads for intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM) and more than 600 air-based cruise missiles, 176 ICBM launchers, including one hundred and thirty SS-19 and forty-six SS-24 were stationed in Ukraine by the beginning of 1994. According to the defence Ministry, all the SS-24 missiles and 80 out of one hundred and thirty SS-19 missiles had been dismantled by the end of October.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Political Issues

Yeltsin's State of Nation Address Previewed

MK2312145595 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 23 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by Veronika Kutsyllo under the "Start of Presidential Campaign" rubric: "Whom Will We Take Along on a Mission?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] While the population has been given a brief respite between elections, this does not apply to the Kremlin. It is not that the parliamentary campaign has evolved into a presidential one — as has been repeatedly mentioned, it was actually only a milestone on the path leading up to June 1996. In all likelihood, the next benchmark should be the presidential message for 1996, which is being energetically drawn up after a pause taken during the parliamentary elections. Veronika Kutsyllo comments.

"It is past — and good riddance!" is how the Kremlin's attitude to the parliamentary elections can be described five days after 17 December. Of course, their results are being carefully studied. Kremlin analysts are paying particular attention to deputies from first-past-the-post individual constituencies who call themselves independents. Clearly, some of them will jump on the leading blocs' bandwagon. But some are set to remain "nonaligned" for some time. In the view of both Georgiy Satarov and Mark Urnov, letting these deputies be divided between four blocs on the eve of the presidential election would be too wasteful. The Kremlin already has experience in setting up pro-presidential groups in parliament — let us recall "Stability" and "Rossiya." In all likelihood, an attempt to knock together something similar from the undecided and to formalize this association will be made right after the Duma's first meeting.

It should be noted that the Kremlin tenants do not seem to be embarrassed by the election results (perhaps only by the showing of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR], but, after all, it would have been much worse for the Kremlin had the Congress of Russian Communities [KRO] entered parliament instead of Zhirinovskiy's party). The results of the parliamentary elections are being studied from an exclusively applied point of view: What and who can be relied upon, who, as Mark Urnov put it, is worth "patting on the back" and who is not worth the Kremlin's caresses.

The electoral programs of the electoral associations that entered the Duma and that failed to clear the 5-percent hurdle are equally being studied. According to Georgiy Satarov, party programs were studied just as carefully in 1993-1994 — afterward they were fairly liberally quoted in the presidential 1995 message.

Although for understandable reasons the highlights of the upcoming message are kept secret, in all likelihood it will be more "socially-oriented" than the previous one. For if society tends leftward, the president himself will have to project a more leftist image.

The Kremlin does not want to create the impression of giving even a little ground. On the contrary, the presidential message to the Federal Assembly for 1996 will fairly resolutely call both the parliament and the government to account for achieving "at best 30 or so percent" (as they say in the Kremlin) of the objectives assigned to them in this year's message. The president will certainly repeat his maneuver of February 1995: He will distance himself from the actions of both the cabinet and the parliament, particularly from their inaction on foreign, defense, and economic policy, and also on the struggle against crime.

Personnel reshuffles in the government and the presidential staff could possibly be arranged to occur by the time the president presents his address. Making changes now would mean linking them directly to the results of the parliamentary elections; that is, by so doing, giving yet another pretext for criticizing the president's weakness (or for gloating over it).

By the way, it transpired yesterday that the personnel changes will not be limited to the federal level. Viktor Chernomyrdin said during his visit to Orenburg: "I will tell you frankly, we will bid farewell to some administration heads. We won't go into the next elections with some of these people — they do not deserve to be at our side on such a serious and responsible mission." Since only the president who appoints them can bid farewell to heads of administration, it is Boris Yeltsin who appears to be meant by "we."

Yeltsin's Upper Chamber Attack Seen Targeting Shumeyko

MK2312133195 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 23 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by Natalya Gorodetskaya: "Boris Yeltsin Accuses Senators of Falsifying Law on Science. Vladimir Shumeyko: Federation Council Has Not Breached Instructions"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Russian President Boris Yeltsin accused the Federation Council of breaching Article 171 of the Criminal Code (overstepping authority or misusing office) and, possibly, notified Russian Federation General Prosecutor Yuriy Skuratov about that during their meeting yesterday. The letter sent by the president to Federation Council Speaker Vladimir Shumeyko yesterday says that while studying the law

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

"On Science and State Scientific-Technical Policy," which was approved by the Federation Council on 9 December, he found 7 inconsistencies with the text approved by the State Duma. Since the Federation Council is not entitled to make its amendments to laws, Boris Yeltsin interpreted this as "the deliberate substitution of certain pages, that is, falsification" and requested that the initial text of the law be sent to him. [passage omitted]

Also yesterday, Vladimir Shumeyko sent a letter to the Russian president, assuring the latter that he is aware of "the instruction on processing documents and letters from individuals." "The original copies of the texts of laws arriving from the State Duma are always kept in a safe as a document of strict accountability, while it is its copies that are processed," the letter said. "Upon approval the original is sent to the president and in the event it is rejected, it is sent back to the State Duma." Further, Mr. Shumeyko detailed the history of the State Duma sending extra copies with amendments to the text of the law "On Science and State Scientific-Technical Policy" and asserted that what was sent to the president was "the text of the federal law that was the original at the time it was approved by the Federation Council. Therefore, it is impossible to send a different text of the federal law."

Yet, we still remember the incident concerning Mr. Shumeyko's safe when the speaker placed into it the Federation Council's request regarding Chechnya and sent his own version to the Constitutional Court. Only after a big scandal was the senators' original request passed to the Constitutional Court. So, it is quite possible that Boris Yeltsin had no intention of charging the entire Federation Council with a transgression punishable under the Criminal Code but simply wanted to remind them of Vladimir Shumeyko's fraudulent abilities after the latter embarked on a new path that turned out to be not quite to the president's liking.

Prosecutor General Briefs Yeltsin on Elections, Crime

LD2212153095 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1455 GMT 22 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 22 Dec — Russian President Boris Yeltsin today met with Russian Federation Prosecutor General Yuriy Skuratov, the press service of the president has reported. Yuriy Skuratov told Boris Yeltsin about the state of compliance with the electoral legislation in the course of the elections to the State Duma of the Russian Federation.

Boris Yeltsin was also informed about the outcome of the meeting between the CIS prosecutors general which, in particular, looked at extending international legal cooperation to fight crime.

Boris Yeltsin and Yuriy Skuratov discussed law enforcement agencies' priorities in fighting crime, said a report by the presidential press service.

Kozyrev Pledges To Accept Yeltsin Decision on Resignation

LD2312131695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1259 GMT 23 Dec 95

[By Vasiliy Belousov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Murmansk, December 23 (Itar-Tass) — Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who has been re-elected to the Russian State Duma in the polar city of Murmansk, eluded a direct answer to reporters whether he would step down to become a full-time parliamentarian.

Kozyrev came to Murmansk today to collect his deputy papers.

He told reporters that his forthcoming meeting with President Boris Yeltsin would decide this.

"I work in his team, I am accountable to him first and I will calmly accept his any decisions," Kozyrev said.

Kozyrev Comments on Foreign Minister's Post, Duma Seat

LD2312164695 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Dec 95

[Interview of Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev by unidentified correspondent in Murmansk on 23 December — recorded; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent] Andrey Vladimirovich, in your recent interview to the "Vremya" program you said your position in office would be decided after consultations with the president. Voters are very much concerned whether you are going to retain your deputy's mandate, and if yes, what you will start with.

[Kozyrev] This mandate is very special to me and I will not betray it — whatever happens, whatever I am doing, whatever office I hold. I am convinced that neither my voters in Murmansk, nor Russia as a whole want to sit somewhere in a godforsaken place and scare itself and the whole world by its own snarling. We deserve to be members of the European Community. I will attend to this too, under any circumstances. In what form will this be implemented? I have to discuss this issue with the president. We have been working together in one

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

team for five years. I believe he and I must discuss this honestly, as men do, and work out an appropriate decision.

Shakhray Tenders Resignation After Parliamentary Elections

LD2612123295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1220 GMT 26 Dec 95

[By Sergay Batyrev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 26 (Itar-Tass) — Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray offered his resignation on Tuesday in connection with his election to the State Duma (lower house of the Russian legislature), Shakhray's spokesman Gadzhiy Magomedov told Itar-Tass.

"Sergey Shakhray tendered his resignation in conformity with the Law on the Elections of the State Duma Deputies," the spokesman said.

According to the law, Russian lawmakers cannot hold ministerial posts.

Shakhray, 39, was appointed vice-premier in April, 1994.

Chubays: Communists 'Do Not Need' Government's Resignation

LD2512124495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1159 GMT 25 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 25 (Interfax) — Communists do not need the government's resignation nor the responsibility for the situation in the country, believes First Deputy Russian Prime Minister Anatoliy Chubays.

"I am sure," he told Interfax, "that the Communists least of all need the government's resignation and the ensuing responsibility for the real state of affairs."

Answering the question on the level of competence of the Communists' economic experts, Chubays said that he had followed attentively the economic publications in such Communist periodicals as Pravda, and Sovietskaya Rossiya. "The impression could be described as desperate," he said.

"It's astonishing how these people lag behind real life and that they don't understand how the Russian economy works today," said Chubays.

Last spring and summer the economic articles of those papers, he said, forecasted that in the autumn the country would face an economic catastrophe: monthly inflation would reach 15-25 percent, the hard currency exchange rate would fall to 9,000-12,000 rubles per dollar and so on. "All these forecasts flopped," said Chubays.

"If the Communists come to power, though, I believe that they have no such chances, they will learn on their own people and their own economy by committing catastrophic mistakes. I believes this should not happen in Russia," he said.

Chernomyrdin Says Communists May Join Government

LD2512145595 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1323 GMT 25 Dec 95

[By Tamara Zamyatina]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 25 Dec — "Taking account of the fact that all the electoral blocs worked against 'Russia Is Our Home', on the whole I am satisfied with election results."

This is the summing-up of the election campaign of the "Russia Is Our Home" movement made by its leader, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, today in an exclusive interview to the ITAR-TASS observer immediately after he arrived by air at Vnukovo-2 airport from Orenburg.

Taking into account the 22 percent of the votes obtained at the elections by the Communist Party, Viktor Chernomyrdin does not rule out that the communists will receive several places in the government.

"I do not rule out anything at all. We shall think about it and consult," he said, stressing at the same time that the new cabinet of ministers could have only professionals.

Chernomyrdin announced that he was preparing a "rotation of cadres in various fields and some people will have to be changed." Being more specific at the request of the ITAR-TASS observer about the statement he made in Orenburg that matters relating to the results of the elections would have to be "clarified" with some of the heads of regions, Viktor Chernomyrdin explained:

"A number of governors, despite the fact that they are working in executive power, during the election campaign fought against the President and against the government's policy."

He stressed: "Criticism was levelled mainly against the cabinet of ministers."

In the prime minister's assessment, the approximately 10 percent of the votes received by the "Russia Is Our Home" movement were about as forecast. "We were expecting 8-10 percent," he said.

Cheromyrdin said the headquarters of the "Russia Is Our Home" movement would continue its activity "also in

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

the period of preparing for the presidential elections, in order to support the candidate of the reform forces".

"In Orenburg," he announced, "I held a conference with the headquarters of 'Russia Is Our Home' and decided to set up additional ones and strengthen the existing organization and set up a united bloc with those with whom we can do joint work."

Zyuganov's Presidential Chances Viewed

MK2212134995 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 21 Dec 95 pp 1-2

[Interview with Yuriy Levada, director of the All-Russia Public Opinion Studies Center, by Andrey Stepanov: "Electorate Got Shitfaced [pun on first letters of the names of Zyuganov and Zhirinovskiy]" — place and date not given; first two passages are introduction]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] In all likelihood, the Communists will spend all the upcoming months left before the presidential elections first of all in attempts to amend the law on presidential elections so as to elect Zyuganov head of state without paying particular attention to the views of dissenters, or to take the people (and, possibly, the president) down the garden path by pretending to be social democrats, Swedish style. This aim can be advanced by their faction's exemplary behavior at the Duma, "criticism" of Anpilov or even — you'd be afraid to say it — Karl Marx himself: For the Bolsheviks, the end justifies the means.

For the time being, of course, one can only talk about the greater or lesser likelihood of developments. Nonetheless, MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS turned to Yuriy Levada, director of the All-Russia Public Opinion Studies Center, for even a "sudden" earthquake is preceded by certain changes noticeable only to specialists.

[Stepanov] How likely is it that precisely Zyuganov and Zhirinovskiy, the leaders of the current election campaign, will make it to the second round of the upcoming presidential elections?

[Levada] This matter should be approached very carefully, and it is too early yet to make such forecasts... Take Zhirinovskiy, for instance — he is supported by slightly more than 10 percent of those who turned out to vote. If we take Zyuganov — of course, there is a euphoria of victory: The overall number of seats he won together with the Agrarian Party, the Anpilovites, and other similar associations is not that small. But, on the other hand, they also have opponents, who will step up their activity. Recently we analyzed popular attitudes to the slogan "Restoration of Socialism," and, roughly, the balance of forces we got was 30 percent in favor and 40 percent against it. This is bringing about a considerable polarization of society, but whether Zhirinovskiy and Zyuganov will be able to emerge as figures rallying a considerable part of the voters behind them — this is still a question.

[Stepanov] And what if a "bad" candidate is confronted with a candidate fielded by the "reformists" — can all the "democrats" throw their weight behind one candidacy?

[Levada] An answer to this question should be sought among people and leaders, not on the table. In the face of an extreme danger people can sometimes join forces. Even though to date the danger has only split them. As for Zhirinovskiy, in the second round he will be an extremely advantageous opponent for anybody, nearly for anybody. The reason is that the general negative attitude to him could play into the hands of nearly anyone who ends up paired against him. There is just one exception...

As for the possibility of rallying behind certain figures, this is also a process that should be followed — as I have said, this has been impossible as yet. Whether they will manage to do so this time around — this will depend on the sentiments of the leaders, on the possibility of reaching agreement, terms, and conditions. This will be noticeable in the way parliamentary problems will be tackled — that is, whether democratically-minded leaders will be able to agree on something and join forces with others behind the government, or whether they will be scattered and attempt to come together on the basis of the opposition. This possibility also exists. We shall see.

[Stepanov] And what if precisely Zyuganov and Zhirinovskiy end up contesting the second round?

[Levada] In this event Zyuganov will win.

[Stepanov] Do you think that the democratic part of the electorate will turn out to vote for Zyuganov?

[Levada] We are yet to live to see precisely these two figures qualify for the second round. To all appearances, people would prefer Zyuganov, although a very large share will not turn out at all for the time being. In the event they are presented with this choice it may so happen that one-half of the voters will fail to turn out, and the elections will simply turn out to be invalid. Which would be extremely advantageous for the incumbent president.

[Stepanov] Will the absenteeism on the part of "all" the democrats be sufficient to thwart the elections?

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Levada] There is no guessing it, we should follow the trends. As for turnout for the presidential elections, this will depend on the lineup of candidates and on people's sentiments.

[Stepanov] Well, the question can be put this way: Will the turnout of only the supporters of Zhirinovskiy and Zyuganov be enough for the elections to take place?

[Levada] No. I do not think it will be sufficient, because they still do not have enough supporters to make one-half of the population. But people tend to jump on the winner's bandwagon — this is a characteristic feature of mass consciousness. Yet everything will depend on how the election campaign will evolve, who will be the first to draw a "Yes" vote — and who, a "No" vote... Obviously, there will be a candidacy fielded by the government; so far, it seems that this will be Yeltsin, but other options are also possible... The patriots, too, may join forces — their possible candidacy seems to be Rutskoy. A stronger move — Lebed — is also possible. We shall see.

Zyuganov on Presidency, Intentions

LD2212231295 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1725 GMT 22 Dec 95

[Interview with Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation by correspondent Nikolay Svanidze on 22 December; place not given; from the "Details" program — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Svanidze] Today was farewell day for the old State Duma. In the corridors there was a wind of change and Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, whom according to our information the communist faction wants to nominate for Duma speaker. However it was Gennadiy Zyuganov that I interviewed:

If you were offered a choice between the three names communist, social democrat, and great power patriot, which would you choose?

[Zyuganov, laughing] This choice was made by our congress. It was "communist," that is to say socialist. We are by our nature socialists and collectivists. This comes to us from the deep foundations of our people: From the Orthodox, Islamic, and Buddhist religions that have been preached in the territory of our vast country and from the collective nature of our forefathers.

[Svanidze] What is your attitude to Stalin, Gennadiy Andreyevich?

[Zyuganov] I have been asked this question about Marx, Lenin, and Stalin?

[Svanidze] But they are all different.

[Zyuganov] Yes, they are different. I have said that Marx signifies science, Lenin freedom, and Stalin victory. One cannot regard Stalin in the uniform way that is being foisted on us at present. Stalin is not for Korotich [OGONEK editor at the time of glasnost] but for Shakespeare. He was a complex and colorful figure and a major statesman, politician, and military chief. He was a person who committed no few violations of legality and these were condemned by the party, and that is quite right. However, without his name it is impossible to imagine the victory in the horrific and terrible war against fascism. I am against any name being erased from Russia's history. On that table there is a book entitled "The 100 most outstanding names in the history of world civilization" and it was compiled by major Western academics — we did not take part in its compilation — and in respect of Russia it includes Lenin, Stalin, and Peter the Great.

[Svanidze] Gennadiy Andreyevich, if I am not mistaken, your party's program contains the point that you are opposed to presidential power but will keep it for a time during a transitional period. Imagine the following situation. The presidential elections take place and your candidate wins. This is a hypothetical situation, of course. [Zyuganov laughs] What afterward will happen to the post of president?

[Zyuganov] Nikolay Karlovich, it has happened even to you now. You have been studying our program and its finer points.

[Svanidze] I am a historian by education, Gennadiy Andreyevich. I do read documents.

[Zyuganov] If you have been undergoing change, then we...

[Svanidze, interrupting] I have long been aware of your program.

[Zyuganov] Well, at any rate it is stated outright in the program that we are against the presidency in the form now existing but we will use the post of president to normalize the system of power. This is everyone's first task. Just imagine that it is not Yeltsin but someone else in the post. Open up the section [of the Constitution] and read what it says. The president appoints everyone, dismisses everyone, confers all the awards and is in no way accountable. Regarding the two centers [of authority] no-one knows who of the presidential team or the government has signed or drafted the decrees. They duplicate each other in resolving...

[Svanidze, interrupting] Do you consider that the general secretary had fewer powers and more accountability?

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Zyuganov] I should like to say that he had fewer powers, much fewer powers. The powers of the present president are the equivalent of those of the tsar and the general secretary combined, but the general secretary's powers were restricted by the 25 members of the Politburo and were restricted by plenums of the Central Committee. So they were restricted, and they were restricted by public opinion, which he certainly had to take into account, let alone the results of voting. This present president does not even intend to take account of the results of the voting. This is really bad. We favor the existence of a strong government. Speaking in the present State Duma I have already said: Prepare what is needed for a strong government so that there is one strong executive and administrative authority. We will vote for you but on the direct condition, or rather the two simple conditions, that you need a specific minimum program and that you come along every three months to report on how the program is being implemented. If you are not coping, then resign. They do want honest and simple conditions and they do not want to carry out even these conditions. So the branches of power will have to be balanced. What sort of a Duma is it that passes laws and cannot go and check on how they are being implemented! What sort of an information policy is it, when a law is adopted in the morning and in the evening Svanidze or someone with him begins to tear that law to bits! In this situation no-one in the country will implement the law.

[Svanidze] Gennadiy Andreyevich, I think the communists' candidate in the presidential elections — and this is my personal opinion — will be yourself. Who do you see as the strongest of your possible rivals on the other side?

[Zyuganov] You know, if a large coalition puts forward a patriot as candidate for the presidency, I am sure that he will win. It is important not to split the vote. I am absolutely certain of this. Therefore our task is to form this coalition and then meet and discuss matters, and just as we approached these elections to put forward a team. At these elections we put forward both Zyuganov and a team consisting of Goryacheva, Tuleyev, Varennikov, Ilyukhin, Sevastyanov, Bubenko, Savitskaya, and very many simply conscientious, talented, and qualified people. If we manage to put forward such a team for president, prime minister, deputy prime ministers, and key ministers, people will see that the team is a capable one and it contains ideal...

[Svanidze, interrupting] You know, the voting in our country is for the person, Gennadiy Andreyevich.

[Zyuganov] No, that is not how people vote now. You were predicting for many individuals such-and-such a percentage, but in fact they did not even pick up tenths of a percentage point. They did not pick up tenths of a percentage point...

[Svanidze, interrupting] Except Lebed.

[Zyuganov] Well, not just Lebed. Now people are voting for the organization, the structure, the team, and a realistic program. I am sure they will not be wrong. The stock of falsehoods, including from the media, is exhausted. Think of the fears that were whipped up and the frightening images, but they were without result. These things no longer work and they are no longer believed, because they have been deceiving people for four years now. They are no longer believed. This applies to the television cameras too, which have repeatedly been guilty of deception. I am not speaking here of specific correspondents. Many of you are honestly bearing your crosses and doing conscientious work, but there are two or three persons occupying posts there who compile the footage that they consider to be needed. Censorship is now stronger than it was before.

[Svanidze] Will there be any censorship under you, Gennadiy Andreyevich, if you are in charge?

[Zyuganov] Any censorship will arise from one's conscience and the law. I do assure you that any censorship will stem from the law. We are in favor of all political forces coming forward openly and presenting their priorities and potential.

[Svanidze] That is to say, returning to the presidential elections, that you consider that anyone on the democratic presidential side that is not put forward as a single unified candidate is doomed to lose?

[Zyuganov] Yes, provided that the people's patriotic forces act as a common movement. In that case I am absolutely certain.

[Svanidze, back in studio] For a long time now in journalistic and liberal democratic circles it has been said of Zyuganov that when and if the communists come to power, he will be the first to be devoured as a moderate. I think that this is wrong. Zyuganov is an educated person and he will pursue the party line.

Rumored Cabinet Reshuffle Viewed

MK2312130195 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 23 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Bekker: "Government Reshuffle Starts From Leak"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Agency of Financial Information [AFI] has reported, citing a source close to the [Russian] White House, that soon the head of the State

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Tax Service [GNS] Vladimir Gusev "will be appointed deputy premier of Russia and take a supervisory charge of the Finance Ministry and the Tax Police Department." The latter will be renamed as Federal Service of Tax Police, which, in principle, means a higher status for this department.

The news gives the impression of being a true fantasy. Indeed, government reorganization has been discussed on more than one occasion in the press. Preliminary information on it was confirmed by Viktor Chernomyrdin on Tuesday [19 December], following his meeting with Boris Yeltsin in Barvikha. The premier also spoke of a planned cabinet reshuffle. However, Vladimir Gusev's supposed rise, the "source" revealed to the Agency, does not fit in the reshuffle in some way. The point is that the present GNS leader has already come "under fire" over a weak performance of the tax service: Addressing a government session in late 1994, the premier raised, in a harsh form, the question of Mr. Gusev's being unfit for the job. Although tax inspectors have fulfilled their fiscal role considerably better this year, the cabinet is not completely satisfied with the GNS work. Suffice it to say that tax arrears shot up from 20 trillion rubles to nearly 50 trillion rubles over last four months.

There are also certain doubts about the AFI report on a proposed transfer of Finance Minister Vladimir Panskov to the position of GNS head with Mikhail Zadornov, in charge of the budget committee in the Fifth State Duma, taking his place on Ilyinka [Street]. Outwardly, the chips fit together: Mr. Panskov is a tax professional, capable of reinforcing the service. Furthermore, he has been on sick leave for a long time of late whereas Finance Ministry head is supposed to be constantly "in the saddle." But, on the other hand, service in the GNS, is not a bed of roses, and you are supposed to be of robust health to handle it.

As for Mr. Zadornov of "Yabloko," his candidacy for the Finance Ministry is, of course, irreproachable if a coalition government is to be created. It is hard to speak about such a government yet because of the well-known fact of Grigoriy Yavlinskiy being opposed to Chernomyrdin's cabinet.

Chances of Presidential Hopefuls Compared

MK2312125195 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by Marina Shakina: "Contenders Taking Aim. Presidential Election Maneuvering Has Already Started"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The first declarations by the leaders who won in the Duma elections touched mostly on two issues, as expected — on the presidential election and on a reshuffle in the government.

The impression was that the first issue was reigning over the minds of those politicians who perceived the 17 December ballot as some sort of "primaries" — the first probe into the possibilities of the aspirants to the presidential seat.

Seen from this viewpoint, the situation acquires a new dimension: The ambitious leaders of the minor blocs that did not make it into the Duma under no circumstances are likely to have any chance at the presidential post. Stanislav Shatalin, Stanislav Govorukhin, Aleksandr Rutskoy, and Nikolay Ryzhkov, who made no secret of their intention to run for the presidency, must arrive at a more realistic assessment of their capabilities, or, to put it more precisely, "impossibilities."

Grigoriy Yavlinskiy's chances seem all the more problematic in light of the recent election, since his bloc mustered only 7.5 percent of the vote. Yavlinskiy is aware of this, by all appearances, and that is the reason his appeal to the democrats, calling on them to unite behind him on the threshold of the presidential election, has such an ardent and urgent ring.

Yavlinskiy as the single candidate of the democrats? This is evidently not enough today. If all democrats, without exception, back "Yabloko's" leader, while his supporters, to a man, turn out at the polls, even in that case Yavlinskiy can count on no more than 15 percent of the vote.

One more thing, amazing as it is, but there's no getting away from it: Yavlinskiy's appeal is addressed, as a matter of fact, to that same "Democratic Choice" and [Yegor] Gaydar with whom Yavlinskiy's relations are more than a little complicated. There has never been unanimity in the democratic camp in support of Yavlinskiy, and unanimity is most unlikely to appear now.

Yavlinskiy himself has never given any reason to think that he is a zealous adherent of democratic solidarity.

It is no big secret that Gaydar's decision on who "Democratic Choice" members will support on 16 June depends on Boris Yeltsin's preferences, on whether he will nominate himself for re-election or make someone else his successor. The statement by "Yabloko's" leader the day before yesterday stating that he is confident that Yeltsin's rapprochement with the Communists will be forthcoming sounds too straightforward and betrays Yavlinskiy's impatience, as he is doing his best to bring his message home to other democrats: "You've got no one else to rely on but me."

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Nevertheless, the situation is far from being as transparent as Yavlinskiy would like to it to be: Evidently, his 7.5 percent gives us food for thought. A reflective mood could make a democratic voter think Chernomyrdin's 10 or so percent looks more convincing.

The election returns also seem to have influenced the frame of mind of President Yeltsin's advisers and aides. In any case, it was noticed that Georgiy Satarov on the "Podrobnosti" ["Details"] program managed, in a subtle way, to help Viktor Chernomyrdin out of the predicament by ascribing the controversial result for the NDR ["Russia Is Our Home"] to the premier's personal gains and saying that 10 percent is a mediocre result for the performance of a bloc, whereas, as a purely personal record, it seems quite substantial. The maneuver suggests that the president and his team, however, could be starting to prepare the prime minister for the start of the presidential race.

It must be said that reality indeed gives grounds for such estimates: Paradoxically, in local elections, Communists are elected to legislative assemblies, whereas both democrats and the president's proteges win in the gubernatorial elections — more often than not, these are people with practical experience at governing.

Vladimir Zhirinovskiy is confident that in the 16 June contest, he will be pitted against the incumbent president. The leader of the Liberal Democrats, it seems, was in an eccentric mood again. A correction for "incaution" should obviously be made to both the 40 percent of the vote he credited his party with in the parliamentary elections, and to his latest prophecy.

Only Gennadiy Zyuganov remains silent, as there are no charismatic leaders in his party. However, his casual remark about a future "president-patriot" reveals his train of thought. There is no place for Yeltsin in these thoughts, although Grigoriy Yavlinskiy is confident of the contrary.

Government Discussion of Regional Policy Issues

MM2212124995 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by Vladimir Kucherenko under the "Russian Federation Government" rubric: "The Foundations of Regional Policy Will Go On Being Laid for Another Two Months"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday's session of the Russian Government was mostly given over to discussing the draft "Main Provisions of Regional Policy in the Russian Federation." Produced by the Russian Federation Ministry for Nationalities Affairs and Regional Policy, the draft is designed to define the basic principles for conducting all economic and political reforms when the regions receive greater independence and the Law "On Local Self-Government" comes into force. It is also designed to help preserve the country's unity and its military and economic security.

However, in the course of the discussion many criticisms of the draft emerged. For example, First Vice Premier O. Soskovets — who chaired the session — criticized the overdramatization of the economic situation in several regions, pointing to the lack of agreement in the positions of the Ministry for Nationalities Affairs and Regional Policy and sector industries, in particular the Ministry of Railways.

In the opinion of Krasnoyarsk Governor A. Zubov, it is necessary at the present stage of the painful reforms to talk about strengthening central power and federal structures and not about decentralization. It is essential to strictly control the movement of budget funds to their intended recipients and not to deprive the regions of inmcentives to earn money independently.

The gist of the speech by V. Mikhaylov, head of the Ministry of Nationalities Affairs and Regional Policy, was as follows: The proposed draft should be finalized once the main questions have been answered. For example, what is the extent of decentralization beyond which the state disappears? What is a "region"? When we speak of Karelia we have one region in mind, but there are three whole regions in Krasnoyarsk Kray. In the minister's opinion, the country requires a clear policy regarding its components.

All the ministers' speeches in one way or another indicated the "problem areas" in relations with the regions. In the words of A. Nazarchuk, head of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, a wave of treaty signings between the Federation and its components has now gotten under way. But this process is taking place without a blueprint for regional policy and clearly specified relations between the center and the provinces. For his part, Internal Affairs Minister A. Kulikov considers that it is essential to produce mechanisms for the implementation of general state rulings in the regions and this must be a priority for inclusion in the draft basic provisions.

It was decided to send off the document for two months of processing with themain responsibility being placed on the Russian Federation Ministry for Nationalities Affairs and Regional Policy.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Primakov on SVR Priorities, Democratic Role

MK2212134895 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by Maksim Isayev: "Intelligence Is a National Asset. SVR Director Yevgeniy Primakov Is Convinced of This"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday in Moscow, at the FSB [Federal Security Service] Cultural Center, an official meeting of the SVR [Foreign Intelligence Service] staff was held, devoted to the 75th anniversary of this special service. The intelligence people were addressed by SVR Director Yevgeniy Primakov.

"We are marking the anniversary of the Russian foreign intelligence service at a crucial and complicated moment in the evolution of Russian statehood. The elections to the State Duma, which have just ended, showed that Russia continues to steadily move toward democracy, one basic element of which is political plurality. The main outcome of the elections, which reflected the public mood at the present moment, is that we have firmly taken a constitutional path with respect to all possible changes in the political power structure. And this path is becoming the only possible one for long-suffering Russia, which has gone through great upheavals," he stressed.

According to the SVR director, the special information procured by the intelligence service has helped the growth of Russia's defense capability, especially in such spheres as nuclear physics, atomic energy, electronics, missile and aviation technology, chemistry, and machine building.

"The tasks of countering the attempts by foreign special services, especially the American CIA and the British SIS, to plant their agents in various power structures of the USSR were addressed by our counterintelligence service. The 'Ames case' was an indication of the level achieved by officers working in this direction, thwarting attempts to undermine the security of our country," Primakov noted.

However, according to him, far from everything that was happening in the country and in the world was conducive to intelligence activity: The loss of dynamism in internal development, insufficient attention to national interests with an emphasis placed on ideological aspects of foreign policy, and sometimes even gross miscalculations, which led to armed intervention in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Afghanistan, resulted in alienation and narrowed the range of potential assistants of the Russian Federation intelligence service abroad.

Yevgeniy Primakov considers the four years of the SVR's existence as an independent agency in the state power structure as "most difficult in the recent period."

"But the service has managed to survive and prove its viability. First of all, it needs to be pointed out that there is a great need for the SVR; it has direct access to the Russian leadership, and its opinion is respected. Intelligence is becoming a national asset," the SVR director summed up.

He is convinced that without close cooperation with the "fraternal agency" (FSB), built on mutual trust, there can be no effective intelligence activity.

"It would be no exaggeration to say that in the recent period such interaction has developed substantially. This refers also to our links with such traditionally close organizations as the GRU [Main Intelligence Directorate], FAPSI [Federal Government Communications and Information Agency], and the Federal Border Service Intelligence Directorate. Mutually beneficial cooperation with the special services of the CIS countries is growing.

"In the recent period it has become standard practice to include SVR officers in groups led by Foreign Ministry officials that exchange opinions on strategic matters at an interstate level," Primakov said.

He defined the current priorities in the SVR's activities.

"The basically new situation in which we have to act arises from the disintegration of the Soviet Union — one of the two world superpowers. As a result, the SVR today is working in the interests of Russia which, without a doubt, will remain a great power, but militarily weaker than the former Soviet Union. This reality necessitates a growing role for intelligence in ensuring Russia's security. This is the SVR's first and foremost priority.

"The Russian Foreign Intelligence Service today is giving special attention to those developments which, under new conditions, can create a geopolitical threat to Russia. This is, above all, the course toward NATO expansion, which brings the infrastructure of this most powerful military force in the world today closer to our borders."

A special danger for Russia, according to Primakov, comes from a situation whereby ethnic conflicts arise and sometimes expand on its own territory. This confronts the intelligence service with a new acute and urgent task — to prevent the territorial disintegration of Russia. At the same time the SVR supports those centripetal trends and processes which have been develop-

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

ing on the territory of the former USSR, especially in the recent period.

"The intention is not — nor will it be — to resurrect the Soviet Union in its old form. The existence of the sovereign CIS countries is irreversible. But with a realistic approach to reality and with an understanding of the need to introduce a number of basically new elements into the policy of integration in the economic, scientific, cultural, information, and military-political spheres, such processes in the CIS will hold sway in the future. This is why it is so important now to work actively and consistently toward rapprochement among the former USSR republics," the SVR director stressed.

The Russian intelligence service has become a widely recognized authority in assessing the advancement made by a particular country toward acquiring weapons of mass destruction. Along with this, according to Primakov, intelligence subdivisions have managed to uncover and effectively counteract attempts by some foreign special services to conduct active measures with respect to so-called nuclear material leaks from Russia.

The existence of a whole range of common interests has in recent years been a factor in the establishment and promotion of contacts and interaction — something which was absolutely inconceivable during the "Cold War" — between the Russian foreign intelligence service and special services of various countries, including NATO member states.

"Given the aggressive work against us, a corresponding attitude to matters of counterintelligence and vigilance needs to be developed," Yevgeniy Primakov emphasized. "However, the question of observing strict secrecy in our work is not a return to the past, when everything in the intelligence sphere was absolutely off-limits. New conditions manifest themselves in that the intelligence service opens its history and part of its current activities to the public, openly explaining its position on particular problems. There must be only one criterion for defining the limits of glasnost for the intelligence service — the categorical inadmissibility of causing damage to field [operativnaya] work and people involved in it, as well as their families, friends, and acquaintances [okruzheniye]."

Security Official on Efforts To Destroy Intelligence Corps

LD2212162495 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian 1500 GMT 22 Dec 95

[Video report by correspondent Yelena Golubeva, including recorded remarks by Colonel General Viktor Trubnikov, first director general of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, at news conference in Moscow on 22 December — from the "Novosti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Russia's Foreign Intelligence Service has rejected the concept of global operations and now focuses on the main objectives of Russian foreign policy, a spokesman for the Service told a news conference in Moscow today.

[Golubeva] Yuriy Baturin, aide to the Russian president on national security, confirmed that we have no formal special services community, unlike the United States. However, cooperation does exist. The Foreign Intelligence Service's [SVR] information is regarded as being of very high quality indeed. That notwithstanding, the goal of opponents abroad — to destroy our intelligence services — is being pursued like this:

[Trubnikov] Via our own compatriots, including people who work in parliament.

[Golubeva] But the SVR has succeeded in proving it is essential. It does not handle domestic issues, but studies them from without, so to speak, via other countries. Col. Gen. Trubnikov described Chechnya as a source of pain for all in Russia, and admitted that the SVR knows:

[Trubnikov] From where weaponry arrives in Chechnya. We know where Chechen rebels go for hospital treatment. We know where the money arriving in Chechnya comes from.

[Golubeva] Today's Foreign Intelligence Service is not out to shock, but it has its own valuable sources of information, since Russia still has its opponents — like NATO — which wants to expand up to our borders. As far as the domestic political situation in Russia is concerned, it does not fear attempts to bring in a single-party system because the SVR cannot:

[Trubnikov] Be painted in a particular political color. It continues and will continue to work for the good of our Russian state.

Foreign Intelligence Service No Longer Has Permanent Enemy

LD2212142895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1345 GMT 22 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 22 (Interfax) — Russia's foreign intelligence service has abandoned the principle of "globality" in favor of selected processes vital to Russian foreign policy, foreign intelligence representatives told a news conference in Moscow Friday.

The foreign intelligence has also abandoned the permanent notion of "enemy", deputy intelligence director

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Grigoriy Rapota told the news conference. "We are being guided by state interests. The term "enemy" may be applied to any potential threat, regardless of its source," he said. In this connection, Estonia and Japan, which have territorial claims to Russia, are considered to be "opponents" of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service.

Another deputy intelligence director, Vyacheslav Trubnikov, said that "NATO is of interest for the service as any other military-political bloc. It will remain our opponent if NATO does not adjust to realities of the post-cold war period."

He said the foreign intelligence knows channels of arms shipments for Dudayev militants, and places where they receive medical treatment.

Trubnikov stressed that Russia has not had a single theft from its nuclear material.

Military & Nuclear Issues

'No Information' About Leakage of Nuclear Materials

LD2212150195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1409 GMT 22 Dec 95

[By Olga Semyonova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW December 22 (Itar-Tass) — Russia's Foreign Intelligence Service [SVR] has no information about the leakage of weapon-grade fissionable materials from Russian facilities, Colonel-General Vyacheslav Trubnikov said. Trubnikov, First Deputy Director of the Foreign Intelligence Service, said this on Friday in answer to journalists about the recurring rumours about the contraband of radioactive substances from Russia.

He said the Munich affair of German special services regarding the contraband of weapon-grade plutonium-239 by BND agents from Russia to Germany by an Aeroflot flight in August 1994 was a well-organised provocation which, however, "does not merit applause" of colleagues. The operation resulted in an international scandal, Trubnikov said. What is worse, lives of many unsuspecting people were threatened, he noted.

Aircraft Carrier, Warships Depart on 3-Month Voyage

LD2312150995 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1410 GMT 23 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vasiliy Belousov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Murmansk, 23 Dec — The aircraft carrier Admiral Kuznetsov and the Northern Fleet warships accompanying it set course for the Atlantic today. The flagship of the Russian Navy has thus left for its first long-distance voyage.

According to Admiral Igor Kasatonov, first deputy commander in chief of the Russian Navy, who is in charge of the detachment of warships, the aircraft carrier's voyage will last about three months. During that time, it and the accompanying ships will visit not only the Atlantic but the Mediterranean too, where "they will show the flag of the Russian Navy, but in no way put on a show of force," Adm. Kasatonov told the ITAR-TASS correspondent before setting out to sea.

During its voyage, the Russian aircraft carrier is scheduled to visit the ports of a number of friendly countries.

Federal Assembly

Rybkin Declares State Duma Closed

LD2212160895 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1456 GMT 22 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 22 Dec — Ivan Rybkin, chairman of the lower house of the Russian parliament, today announced the fourth, and last, session of the present State Duma closed. Thus ended the last, 142d plenary session of the State Duma, whose deputies were elected on 12 December 1993.

In his closing speech, Ivan Rybkin said that, in his opinion, the "State Duma of the first convocation did materialize." He believes that correspondents and politicians are still to have their say about many aspects of its work. The Duma, the speaker said, "chose for itself a path of business cooperation with other power branches." It was trying to resolve the task of moving the country out of an economic, cultural, and political crisis.

Ivan Rybkin believes that the Duma's most important achievement is the fact that political interests "were discussed not in the streets and squares, but under the Duma's roof." This, he stressed, was achieved by the efforts of all parliamentary factions and all the deputies. At the same time, Ivan Rybkin thinks that "the Duma was not idyllic and it cannot be."

During the two years of its work, in the words of the State Duma chairman, the chamber adopted 461 laws, and 282 of them have been signed by the Russian president and have come into force. The deputies, he said, "normalized the budget relations in the country". For the first time in the last few years the federal budget for the next year was passed by parliament in the current year, he explained.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Speaking about the aspects of the Duma's work in the sphere of foreign policy, Ivan Rybkin said that the Russian president is making considerable amendments to the foreign policy of the Russian Federation, but not without intervention by the Duma.

In conclusion, the speaker stressed that the Duma is passing affairs over to the new chamber "in good working order." The next Duma will receive more than 500 bills which have been drawn up.

"We have done everything we could. Let those who are able do more," the chairman of the State Duma said.

Central Electoral Commission Completes Preliminary Count

LD2512154195 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1524 GMT 25 Dec 95

[By Igor Belskiy]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 25 Dec — Today, the Central Electoral Commission completed the preliminary counting of votes cast in all 225 constituencies on the federal party lists in the State Duma elections. The results confirm there is no change to the leading four parties that cleared the 5 percent hurdle.

According to figures for 1700 [1400 GMT], the Communist Party had 22.31 percent of the vote, the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia 11.06 percent, Russia Is Our Home 9.89 percent, and Yabloko 6.93 percent.

Powers of Commission Drafting Code of Laws Extended

LD2512105095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1029 GMT 25 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW December 25 (Itar-Tass) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin, by his decree on Monday [25 December], extended the powers of the interim commission for the drafting of the code of laws of the Russian Federation prior to the passing of the federal law on the code of laws. This is said in a report of the presidential press service transmitted to Itar-Tass on Monday.

The Russian Ministry of Justice and the State Legal Agency at the Russian President have been instructed to complete drafting in the first half of 1996 the chronological list of all the operating federal laws, of normative decrees of the Russian President and resolutions of the Russian government, other normative legal acts, as well as normative acts of the former USSR that are to be discussed and included in the code of laws of the Russian Federation.

The Institute of State and Law of the Russian Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Law and Comparative Legal Studies at the Russian government are responsible for the work to prepare for the publishing the code of laws of the Russian Federation and also to form groups of researches to analyse legal acts planned to be included into the code of laws of the Russian Federation. Jurists and specialists from other institutions and organisations must also be involved in this work.

The document was signed in order to prepare for publishing the code of laws of the Russian Federation, which is a most important trend of the activity to perfect Russian legislation, taking into account the need for this work, implemented under the Russian President's decree of February 6, 1995 "On the preparation for the publication of the code of laws of the Russian Federation".

'Stalemate Situation' Predicted in New State Duma

LD2612100695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0857 GMT 26 Dec 95

[By Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 26 (Itar-Tass) — The results of the December 17 Duma elections have shown that on the whole the correlation of votes had not changed since the 1991 presidential elections. This view was expressed by leaders of the Expert Institute of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Businessmen during the Monday press conference at the Russo-American Press Centre here. Scientists of the Expert Institute have drawn up a report, analysing the results of the Duma elections and the possible developments in the country.

They believe that the pattern of the new State Duma creates a stalemate situation. "The Duma can express its dissatisfaction as much as it wants, but it will be practically unable to take any actions to alter the situation, to muster a stable majority and thereby obtain the necessary number of votes for this purpose," the report notes.

Director of the Expert Institute Sergey Aleksashenko said that one of the political results of the December 17 elections was that "the government's economic policy was negatively assessed, because the reforms were proceeding at a very slow pace".

The big victory scored by the left-wing bloc, as a result of which the Russian Communist Party will have 158 seats in the 450-man Duma, does not mean, however, that it will be willing to assume any responsibility on the eve of the presidential elections, experts claim. "It is more likely that the Communist Party faction

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

will not be able to do anything substantial to alter the situation in the country, and, what is more, it will probably not want to do it," the report says. "It is not in the interests of the communists to unleash a war in the economic sphere, where they have no clear-cut strategy," Executive Director of the Expert Institute Andrey Neshchadin believes. The Communist Party has no corresponding personnel and no "shadow government", which could assume power, he added.

Replying to an Itar-Tass question, Counsellor of the Expert Institute Mikhail Malyutin said that the political parties and movements, which have lost the elections, would not be able to survive. Some of their leaders, in his opinion, may provide the core for the crystallisation of other forces. For instance, Svyatoslav Fedorov may, if he wishes, rally the social democrats around himself. If Aleksandr Lebed wants to vie for the presidency, he will have to withdraw from the Congress of Russian Communities, Malyutin said. The "Women of Russia" bloc, in his opinion, was lucky only once, but it failed to become a truly political organisation. The Agrarians have actually turned into a branch of the Russian Communist Party, and "Russia's Democratic Choice" will in the long run become a branch of the party of power, the expert stated.

Regional Affairs

EU Energy Supply Project for Kaliningrad Discussed

WS2512151195 Kaliningrad YANTARNYY KRAY in Russian 5 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by O. Denisova: "According to European Community's Policy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As our newspaper has already reported, the Kaliningrad Oblast Administration has held an official opening of the TACIS project — "Energy Supply Program for Kalingrad Oblast" —for technical assistance to CIS countries. S. Buchelnikov, Kaliningrad Oblast Administration deputy head, met with representatives of the DECON (ETSU) CESEN [preceding three words in English] consortium and the EU Commission before the main part of the official ceremony.

Before I describe the project, I will specify the following details. Foreign-partner companies in this project (DECON from Germany, CESEN from Italy, and ETSU from England) have successfully passed an intense competition for it. Kaliningrad Oblast Administration, the Committee for the Development of the "Yantar" free trade zone, the "Yantarenergo" joint-stock company, the "Baltikonsalt" company, and others represented the Russian side.

The project proceeds from the fact that Kaliningrad Oblast is extremely dependent on energy resources from other regions. Gas is delivered from Siberia; coal is delivered from Poland and Kuzbass, Ukraine; and energy is delivered from Lithuania. All this shows the urgent need to use local energy resources. It also is necessary to consider the enclave location of the region and environmental and technical problems arising from the implementation of the project.

In general, a special energy strategy is required. At issue here is the use of world achievements in the area of the rational development of the energy supply infrastructure and the use of international expertise. In addition, there are plans to implement the experience of Russian colleagues from the "Energokompleks" scientific research institute and data from the "Yantarenergo" joint-stock company subsidiaries. It also is necessary to complete the work on creating energy system models. Based on all this, the program for the development of power engineering in Kaliningrad Oblast will be drafted.

So far, the total cost of the project is ECU1 million; the first stage of the project will be implemented within a year. During this time, three joint meetings of partner-companies will be held to discuss current reports. The project envisages the training of Russian experts who head the project in the West European countries. It must be mentioned that officials from the Western consortium (there will be 48 representatives) will be assisted by backup staff to ensure a professional approach toward resolving problems that may arise. All reports will be promptly submitted to the EU Commission and Kaliningrad Oblast Administration.

Radioactive Substance Discovered on Train in Samara

LD2212172995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1407 GMT 22 Dec 95

[By Boris Belyakov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] SAMARA December 22 (Itar-Tass) — A container with radioactive substance discovered in a luggage car of a passenger train caused concern in this city on the Volga. Representatives of the Samara regional agency of the Federal Security Service hastened to reassure the public. They said the radioactive substance was not traced to terrorists. It was just a matter of negligence and violation of rules of the transportation of radioactive materials. The cargo was meant for one of sections of the Kuibyshev railway. The check on the matter continues.

The container showed the radiation of 700 microroentgen an hour with the permissible norm of 15 microroentgen. The dangerous cargo containing cesium-137

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

was immediately isolated. Officials of the agency of the Federal Security Service have not yet established the culprits.

Reportage, Commentary on Chechnya Elections, Conflict

Elections - 'Greatest Achievement' in 1995

LD2412141295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1353 GMT 24 Dec 95

[By Olga Semenova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 24 (Itar-Tass) — "I believe that the elections are the greatest achievement in Chechnya in the outgoing year if we take into account everything — military successes, political successes and the peace talks," the Russian president's national security adviser Yuriy Baturin said in an exclusive interview with Itar-Tass here on Sunday [24 December].

He called them a success of "not only and not so much of federal authorities as of Chechnya itself and the entire Chechen people". In Baturin's opinion, the polls showed that people are tired of all developments in that republic over the past few years and want normal life.

The president's assistant disagreed with an opinion by some Russians that the elections also have a negative result, since the victory of President-elect Doku Zavgayev prodded gunmen of separatist leader Dzhokhar Dudayev to step up their combat activities and desperate destruction of the peace process in Chechnya.

"I believe," Baturin continued, "that those who were bent on undermining a peace settlement, would continue to destroy the peace process, irrespective of whether elections were held in Chechnya or not.

"Bitterness would rise all the same according to laws of this process." "Legitimation of power in Chechnya is such that nothing can be put next to this success in the outgoing year," he stressed.

Asked by Itar-Tass what measures the federal leadership plans to take to ease tension in the rest of Russia due to stepped-up activities by rebels in Chechnya, Baturin noted: "One thing must be done of course: the territory must be taken under control.

"The leadership tries to do its best to achieve this without a new loss of life." The president's assistant expressed confidence that all this will be done in the foreseeable future.

Zavgayev on Present Situation in Chechnya

LD2612123195 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 26 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Despite the fact that agreements have been signed in the Chechen Republic opening up opportunities for the establishment of peace and quiet there, the news nevertheless from Chechnya is not yet joyful. Doku Zavgayev, the recently-elected head of the republic today gave a news conference. It was attended by our correspondent Vladimir Tushkovskiy:

[Tushkovskiy] The news conference was devoted to problems of the normalization of the situation in the republic and ways of restoring Chechnya's economic, social, and consumer spheres.

Assessing his position, Zavgayev stated that after the elections — when 68 percent of the electorate came to vote, of which 98 percent cast their votes for his candidature — he felt the complete support of his and the government's course toward a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

Improvement of the situation in the republic, in Zavgayev's words, is helped by the edict adopted by the president on the members of the illicit armed formations. In Groznyy a special commission is already working, which is engaged in the implementation of this document.

There is also an undoubtedly positive role, Zavgayev said, in the agreement signed in mid-December on the main principles of interaction between Russia and Chechnya. Incidentally, Zavgayev is now drafting a package of documents as addenda to the agreement, with the help of which intentions are to be translated into life.

For instance, according to the document, the Chechen Republic may open its own offices in any countries of the Commonwealth and the West. This is indeed happening. Zavgayev announced that offices had already been opened in Almaty and Bishkek.

Also, young people of conscription age will do their military service on the territory of the republic.

Zavgayev said that he still considered that the Russian-Chechen peace dialogue should be transferred to an internal Chechen level. He said he had become even more convinced of this after the recent events in the population centers of Urus-Martan and Achkoy-Martan where the local militia came to an agreement with the fighters and all ended peacefully.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Chernomyrdin Rules Out Second Round of Force

LD2512144395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1440 GMT 25 Dec 95

[By Tamara Zamyatina]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 25 (Itar-Tass) — Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin on Monday [25 December] ruled out another round of use of force in Chechnya saying "it is impossible to settle the Chechen crisis by military means." He commented on the local situation which aggravated after recent elections in the republic.

"We will not let the Chechen war to get into the second round. The Russian government's stance on this issue remains unchanged," the premier said in Moscow's Vnukovo airport after having come back from Orenburg in the Urals.

Chernomyrdin said he pins "big hopes on Doku Zavgayev who was elected leader of the Chechen Republic on December 17." In his words, the "establishment of a legitimate government in Chechnya must put a stop to antagonism (in the republic) and bring the Chechen people to reconciliation."

He reaffirmed that "the Russian government will take all measures to bring the Chechen Republic back to the route of peaceful, productive life."

Baturin: Military Situation Like 'Sandwich'

LD2412203295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2015 GMT 24 Dec 95

[By Olga Semyonova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 24 (Itar-Tass) — Russian presidential aide for national security Yuriy Baturin said on Sunday the military situation in Chechnya currently resembles a "sandwich", with no clear separation line between federal troops and Dudayev supporters.

"In the last six months, the situation in Chechnya was developing in two directions," he said labelling these trends as one towards peaceful settlement and another towards more complicated military environment in the war-torn republic.

Baturin described such shift as most negative and blamed Dudayev supporters for willfully undermining the Chechen peace process in spite of ongoing talks. At the same time he admitted that many spontaneous factors contributed to it.

"Nevertheless, the second process — talks, elections, — was to great extent intentional. However, the drive towards peace talks was very uneven," he said adding that, with time passing, peace efforts were becoming less and less efficient as the alternate trend existed.

Baturin condemned those alleging Russian law enforcement agencies, especially the Federal Security Service, of not taking any measures to prevent Shamil Basayev and his commandos from terrorist actions. "Such allegations are absolutely unjust," he said.

"I am very well aware of how much and what they are doing (to prevent it). I can say that all these services' operational staff is working full blast. There are personnel shortages, as people are thrown all the time long to respond to one alarm after another... And how many false alarms are there," he said.

Interior Minister Accuses Dudayev of 'Genocide'

LD2512221095

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow NTV in Russian at 1635 GMT on 25 December in its "Hero of the Day" program broadcasts a live 25-minute studio interview with Russian Interior Minister Anatoliy Kulikov by presenter Yevgeniy Kiselev.

After offering condolences to the NTV television staff over the loss of their colleague Yevgeniy Molchanov in Chechnya, and to the relatives of the 64 federal servicemen killed in Chechnya in the first 25 days of December, Kulikov says there has been a "fundamental change in the situation in Chechnya. As a result of the elections, there is a legitimate authority, a legitimate government, and a head of the republic — Doku Zavgayev." He adds that Dudayev and his supporters attempted to wreck the elections "and the Gudermes events are a part of this plan. They opened an absolute slaughterhouse there, and this just serves to confirm once again that these people will stop at nothing. They are not governed by common sense. They are ready to sacrifice the last Chechen. It is nothing other than genocide."

Kulikov goes on to state that it would not be expedient to introduce a state of emergency in Chechnya now, because there is now a head of the republic who has the republican law enforcement bodies under his command, assisted by the federal forces. He shares the opinion of federal troop commander Anatoliy Shkirko that there is now nobody with whom to conduct political talks: "Zavgayev should hold such political talks within the context of his own internal Chechen policy." Kulikov adds that it is the task of the federal troops to continue disarming and destroying the gangs.

Kulikov then says that Dudayev commander Aslan Maskhadov has become a hostage of circumstances, afraid of being blamed by his own people for the

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

destruction and death caused by the fighting. He adds that the Gudermes events were "a second Budennovsk" and no victory for the Dudayev forces. He continues: "Dudayev still has forces, but only enough to strike a blow in the back, to carry out acts of sabotage and terrorism like partisans. He does indeed have forces for such base actions."

Kulikov goes on to say Dudayev is still getting weapons, adding that over 150 grenade launchers have been confiscated in Gudermes. He goes on to say that these weapons were obtained from neighboring states and federal forces, and smuggled in through border and customs posts.

Kiselev then comments that on NTV's "Itogi" program on 24 December, politicians stressed the need to hold talks with Dudayev. Kulikov replies that he has been notified by Freedom Party leader Konstantin Borovoy that he and a group of deputies from the new Duma plan to have talks with Dudayev about annulling the Chechnya leadership elections. Kulikov claims such an action would lead to full-scale war as opposed to mere sabotage.

Asked whether it is possible to wipe out corruption in the internal affairs bodies, Kulikov gives a positive answer, noting that there are more honest and decent people than villains in Russia. He goes on to say that a unit is to be set up within the Interior Ministry, designed to fight corruption among the personnel. He adds that in the first 11 months of this year, 755 Internal Affairs Ministry staff have been committed for trial, but only 40 of these on charges of taking bribes. He also says that charges were brought against a total of about 2,000 people, but these include minor charges such as traffic infringements.

Asked about the progress of the Budennovsk investigation, Kulikov replies that five or seven cases have been brought against individuals responsible for negligence, some staffers have been dismissed, and others reprimanded.

Kulikov concludes by saying the Interior Ministry cannot fight crime alone, without public help. He comments that plans for public volunteer forces, possibly armed, to assist the militia are being drawn up, and provides some general examples.

Federal Spokesman Updates Situation

LD2412143995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1425 GMT 24 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, Dec 24 (Interfax) — Interior troops have been fighting a group of Chechen militants for two hours. The Chechen separatists attacked a federal troops checkpoint near Chechnya's Sernovodsk populated area in the early hours of Sunday [24 December], a federal troops spokesman told Interfax this morning.

Chechen militants numbering over 100 people attacked an intelligence unit of a federal troops motorized regiment near the Benoy sanatorium in 6 kilometers away from the Vedeno village Saturday, the same source said.

Fighting lasted for about seven hours. About 50 rebels were killed and four trucks and five cars were destroyed. Federal troops discovered and disposed of five landmines installed on the Vedeno-Avtury road.

Federal troops are continuing the operation for forcing Chechen militants out of Gudermes, Chechnya's second largest town in 40 kilometers to the east of the capital Groznyy, the source said.

Gudermes Under Control of Federal Troops

LD2412180895 Moscow NTV in Russian 1600 GMT 24 Dec 95

[Report over video by correspondent Aleksandr Abramenko; from the "Segodnya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] According to military reports, over the last 24 hours two servicemen have been killed and 10 people wounded in Chechnya. The military have also reported that the operation to clear Gudermes of Dudayev fighters is continuing. A report from our film crew, which is working in eastern Chechnya, near Gudermes.

[Begin recording] [Abramenko, over video of federal troops, roadblocks, refugees] It can now be affirmed unambiguously that as of today the federal forces have taken full control of Gudermes — despite the fact that, as the military themselves say, the main forces of the fighters started to leave the town two days ago. According to soldiers and local residents, the federal forces did not particularly hinder the fighters from leaving; something that cannot be said of civilians, who, having learned that the shooting had stopped, were trying to return to their ruined homes today.

The federal troops tried to prevent the civilians from getting through, however, at almost all of the Russian roadblocks blockading entry and exit from Gudermes. The military, citing orders from the command, explained that this was because there are still occasional exchanges of fire in the town, and there are a lot of mines.

[Unidentified serviceman] [passage omitted] The situation is that as of today, there are no bandit formations in the town.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Abramenko, over video of damaged houses and fences, dead animals, federal armor] After much persuasion and pleading, the commander of one of the Russian Federation roadblocks let our film crew drive into the town and film what we could see. We saw heavily damaged houses, and people who, spotting the television crew, risked leaving the cellars beneath their houses where they are still hiding out. [passage omitted]

[Abramenko] Local residents say that because of the blockade and constant shelling, it has not been possible to take either the living or the dead out of the town for these past days. The dead were buried wherever possible — most often in the vegetable patch or in yards.

The military think that the operation to clear the town of mines, obstructions, and possible fighters will go on for another three days, during which time entry into the town will be closed both for refugees and for journalists. The Chechens think that the military are thus trying to conceal the real consequences of the military actions in Gudermes and will then try and play down the number of casualties among both civilians and Russian soldiers.

Contradictory information about this came in today, incidentally. According to some statistics, at least 100 Russian Federation servicemen died in Gudermes; others put the number at under 40. [end recording]

Federal Army Still Seen as Key to Peace

MK2312145495 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 23 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by Yulia Kalinina: "Both the Dudayevites and the Opposition Are Tired of the Army in Chechnya. But They Have Different 'Troop Withdrawal' Plans"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The elections held in Chechnya under coercion by the authorities have after all played their role. The situation is predictably changing, but, unfortunately, not toward stabilization. The clashes in Gudermes and Urus-Martan should apparently be seen as the beginning of a winter campaign, while, unlike last year, now it is apparently initiated by the Dudayevites.

On Tuesday night all TV programs broadcast in Chechnya were filled with Basayev's 40-minute statement saying that the Dudayevites' patience has run out, that they are tired of waiting until the Russian side evacuates its troops from Chechnya, and that they are therefore beginning aggressive action. He asked those who wanted to help not to join regular Dudayev army units, because there are plenty of fighters and weapons at present, but to act "at the local level" — to attack checkpoints and refuse to provide "day-to-day" assistance to federal troops — neither food nor water. Basayev asked those who do not want to help the Dudayevites — or cannot — not to interfere. We shall do everything ourselves — only do not interfere.

In the first days after the elections, meetings were held in the detachments of volunteers who had returned to peaceful life but kept their weapons and military discipline. The meetings discussed how to live further. Opinions for the most part boiled down to the following: If Zavgayev does not do anything in the near future to ensure the withdrawal of troops from Chechnya, something will have to be done about the "Zavgayev" government and administration. The logic is as follows: If it is impossible to eliminate physically the troops in Chechnya, then those Chechens who provoked the introduction of troops and who need their presence now must be destroyed. In other words, the opposition.

The opposition, that is the "Nadterechnyy grouping," which a year ago was based in the village of Znamenskoye, has now moved to Groznyy to the House of Government and constitutes the core of the "Zavgayev" team. Interestingly, the opposition is also obsessed with the same idea: It is necessary to pull the troops out of Chechnya as a matter of urgency. As long as they are here, nothing can be done. No peaceful life.

It is impossible to live in a republic that is something of a concentration camp, carved with checkpoints, obstacles, and cordons, with armored vehicles rushing about in between, crushing the cars of peaceful citizens who are not quick enough to get out of their way. The army is being demoralized by performing police functions. In fact, it has already been demoralized to the extreme.

The "Agreement on Basic Principles Between the Russian Federation and the Chechen Republic," signed in early December by Zavgayev and Chernomyrdin, says: "The command of the joint armed forces performing the tasks of disarming illegally armed formations shall coordinate its activity with the government of the Chechen Republic." According to members of the "Zavgayev" team, nothing of the kind is happening in reality. Nobody is coordinating anything with them; nobody listens to them or warns them about anything. Of course, such a situation cannot be well received by the former opposition, which has now come to power.

On the other hand, former oppositionists are very well aware that if the troops are pulled out of Chechnya now, the Dudayevites will immediately enter Groznyy, and that will be the end of their "opposition" rule. In order to resist the Dudayevites, the government needs its own armed forces. There is the militia [police], but according to the occupants of the House of the Chechen Government, during a year of war they have turned into armed gangs with police IDs, who are taking

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

no orders from anybody. They cannot be relied on, and before the question of troop withdrawal is raised, personnel changes first have to made in the Internal Affairs Ministry and battleworthy units formed.

On the whole, the former opposition now feels hostage to the genie it itself let out of the bottle — the Russian army and interior troops. They are placing all their hopes on Doku Gapurovich [Zavgayev], because he is admittedly so clever and cautious that he would not have involved himself in Chechnya were he not 100-percent sure of success.

The Dudayev side, quite the contrary, is not pinning any great hopes on Zavgayev, preferring to rely on its own forces over the issue of the presence of federal forces, because, to all appearances, the real war in Chechnya is still to come.

Kovalev on Amnesty for Surrendering Arms

LD2212133795 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 22 Dec 95

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Since the elections in Chechnya it has become possible to sign a full-scale agreement between Russia and the Chechen Republic, Russian Justice Minister Valentin Kovalev said today at a news conference.

[Begin Kovalev recording] All political forces in the Chechen Republic are invited to help draft this most important document, which will determine the relationship between the Federation and one of its component parts. I stress this circumstance: All without exception are invited. [end recording]

According to Valentin Kovalev, the elections in the republic have been a positive factor in stabilizing the situation in Chechnya. Now the negotiations need to be switched to internal Chechen channels. On 19 December, representatives of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE] returned to Chechnya and declared their wish to take part in the work of the commission looking at appeals by citizens who have voluntarily surrendered weapons in the hope of being amnestied.

[Begin Kovalev recording] Any citizen of the Chechen Republic who voluntarily lays down their arms, even if they have committed unlawful actions in the past, may count upon being relieved of their criminal liability under the Constitution, in accordance with the president's amnesty act and edict. [end recording]

The justice minister also reported on the progress of restoring constitutional rights in the conflict area. He said that it is proceeding in the most difficult conditions, insofar as the combatants are doing everything possible to disrupt this process, and show that all attempts at restoration are meaningless. Not only is there military resistance to the troops, but the amount of ordinary crimes has also increased.

[Begin Kovalev recording] We are talking about an ever increasing level of murders, robberies, and hold-ups. [end recording]

The legal bodies and courts are back in operation in most districts, despite the difficult circumstances. Furthermore, a courts martial has been set up in Chechnya to look at crimes commmitted by federal servicemen. As for Dudayev, Valentin Kovalev said that, on the one hand, he is being invited to enter political dialogue, while on the other, Dudayev is due to stand trial in accordance with the edict on his apprehension.

Kovalev Says Dudayev Still Has 6,000 Militants

LD2212145195 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 22 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Russian Justice Minister Valentin Kovalev told correspondents today that the situation in Chechnya must on no account be oversimplified, since Dudayev still controls approximately 6,000 militants, including some 300 mercenaries from other states.

He also believes that the illegal armed formations in Chechnya have stepped up their activities, including the recent events in Gudermes, which signifies the Dudayev regime's agony.

The minister said the general situation in Chechnya and the recent elections of the head of republic provide grounds to expect positive changes, as the negotiating process can now be transferred onto an intra-Chechen level.

Economic Issues

Controversy Over Rocket Engines for U.S. Discussed

MK2312125995 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Dec 95 p 4

[Report by Andrey Vaganov: "What the Americans Will Use To Fly Into Space. Disputes Around a Multimillion Contract for the Delivery of Russian Rocket Engines to the United States Have Reached a High Point"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent has learned from informed

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

sources, Aerojet, a U.S. company, has successfully completed the testing of the Russian NK-33 [expansion unknown] rocket engine. Earlier, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA reported on the first stage of this project (12 April 1995). Here is the gist of the story. Aerojet, jointly with the Samara Joint-Stock Company "Dvigateli NK" [NK Engines], proposed using the NK-33 on U.S. boosters. The engine has been developed for the Soviet manned N-1 rocket, designed for flying to the Moon. Since it was decided to terminate the Russian Moon program in 1974, the engines have been kept in a controlled environment for 25 years [figures as published].

Then, in late November, in the course of five tests conducted by Aerojet in California, the engine's technical potentialities were demonstrated. It is proposed to install the NK-33 engine on the first stage of the new U.S. Atlas booster. Furthermore, the Lockheed-Martin company is proposing that the NK-33 take part in the contest conducted by the U.S. Air Force for developing the new-generation EELV (Evolved Expandable Launch Vehicle) [preceding five words in English].

"The testing of two Russian engines has confirmed that the well-designed NK-33 fully meets the requirements set for power plants for both the Atlas launch vehicle and the EELV program," said Mark Konstantin [name as transliterated], Aerojet's chief of advance research projects. Now Aerojet is awaiting license from the Russian government for delivering another 12 engines before the end of this year. The U.S. company is planning to acquire all 70 engines remaining in Samara and then launch their production in the United States based on a license agreement with the "Dvigateli NK" Joint-Stock Company.

"Dvigateli NK" will get at least $150 million and possibly up to $200 million from the sale of its engines and as license fees," Mark Konstantin says. "This gives the Russian firm the requisite funds for further work on advanced Air Force and industrial gas-turbine engines."

Suddenly, however, the idea of using the NK-33 engine on the Atlas 2AR [preceding abbreviation in English] and the EELV [preceding abbreviation in English] boosters was opposed not by U.S. companies but by some in the Russian Federation Defense Ministry and the Russian Space Agency. The opponents are trying to exclude the NK-33 from the contest and thus ensure an advantage for another competing Russian engine: the RD-180 [Raketnyy Dvigatel, rocket engine], produced by "Energomash." They have recently stepped up their efforts to thwart the delivery of the 12 aforementioned NK-33 engines even through bypassing an express order signed by Russian Federation Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin. This looks even more strange in the light of that the engine competing with the NK-33 — which is also Russian — has so far only existed on paper and has never been built or tested.

According to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA sources, Aerojet has already invested about $12 million into the NK-33 program, some $5 million of which have been received by the "Dvigateli NK" Joint-Stock Company.

Opponents of the NK-33 engine in the Russian government are stating that they will block the requisite licenses on this engine alleging that it will be used to launch the Atlas 2AR and EELV boosters for military purposes. This, however, does not square with normal logic. After all, both the NK-33 and the competing engine are planned to be used for launching the same payloads on the same Atlas 2AR and EELV vehicles. So, if the promotion of one engine is being blocked, then it would be logical to block the other as well. Incidentally, according to some sources, this obvious favor shown for one engine is currently being discussed in the upper echelons of the U.S. Government.

Central Bank Moves To Avert Dollar Exchange Panic

MK2312135695 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 23 Dec 95 p 3

[Unattributed report: "The Central Bank Holds Negotiations With Main Importers of Cash Dollars"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday, a meeting took place between Central Bank executives and representatives of seven main foreign currency importing banks. According to SEGODNYA sources, these banks ensure more than two-thirds of all cash dollar supplies to Russia. To date, the largest cash dollar importer has been Tokobank.

The main question at the negotiations between the Central Bank and the large Russian banks is the optimization of the dollar rotation process. As is known, in the first quarter of 1996, the U.S. Federal Reserve System and the U.S. Treasury are introducing new-design $100 bills. Old bank notes will be accepted in all kinds of financial settlements on a par with new bills. Nonetheless an "exchange panic" can emerge in Russia, deliberately provoked by some banks (they can possibly charge purely speculative commissions). The Central Bank promises to control the situation. One step in this direction has been the Central Bank's adoption last week of new regulations on procedures for insurance operations with hard currency, including cash dollar transit insurance.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Economist: Russia To Enter Slump in 1996

LD2512133595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1327 GMT 25 Dec 95

[By Robert Serebrennikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 25 (Itar-Tass) - "In 1996, we shall enter depression with a slight trend for economic growth," prominent economist Pavel Bunich, member of the State Duma (Russian parliament lower house), said in an interview with Itar-Tass here on Monday [25 December].

He noted that this year could have become the first year of economic growth. However, "this chance was lost due to the fact that authorities did not use available huge possibilities and conducted a mediocre policy".

Bunich stressed that the results of 1995 should be recognised as bad according to the main indicator — living standards. Living standards of workers in the budgetary sphere where 50 percent of the country's population is engaged, dropped by 24 percent over the year. This should not be permitted: the above indicator brings to naught all other results.

He described the establishment "of the currency corridor" and a drop in inflation over the past five months as positive results of the outgoing year.

The economist expressed regret that the first six months of the next year will pass, in his opinion, "under the sign of competing in economic populism from all the sides" in connection with the coming presidential elections.

Admitting that state short-term obligations are, in real fact, a classic pyramid, Bunich expressed belief, however, that this pyramid is not bound to crumble by all means if earned revenues "are well invested", which will enable the government "to feed wolves and to preserve sheep".

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

International Affairs

Parliament Wants Russian Energy Pact Renegotiated

WS2512091995 Kiev INTELNEWS in English 0250 GMT 23 Dec 95

[By Oksana Hasiuk, INTELNEWS Staff Writer]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, Dec 22 — Reopening a major dispute over Ukraine's energy debt to Russia, Parliament ordered the Cabinet of Ministers on Friday [22 December] to renegotiate a March agreement between the Ukrainian government and Russia's GazProm.

The agreement restructured Ukraine's 1994 debt for Russian gas supplies and provided for the creation of GazTranzit, a Russian-Ukrainian joint venture, to transport Russian gas through Ukrainian territory.

According to Friday's resolution, the government must ask GazProm to change provisions of the agreement requiring UkrGazProm, Ukraine's largest gas company, to include into GazTranzit's authorized fund the capital production facilities of Bohorodchany and Bilche-Volytsia-Uhersk underground gas reserves.

According to the Prosecutor General's Office and the State Property Fund, the facilities were included by Parliament's September resolution in a list of enterprises banned from privatization. Vasyl Yevtukhov, deputy prime minister on the Fuel and Energy Complex, defended the March agreement, saying it provided the only acceptable means for Ukraine to settle its 1994 debt for Russian gas supplies.

The Cabinet was also ordered to study the possible participation of a western gas company in GazTranzit.

However, Yevtukhov said it would be difficult to force GazProm to agree to the inclusion of a foreign gas company in the GazTranzit joint venture. While Parliament said in the resolution it should encourage the government to create a company like GazTranzit, the legislature said UkrGazProm must be preserved as a centralized structure.

The government was also ordered to submit to Parliament for ratification an agreement concluded between the Ukrainian and Russian governments on Russian gas transit through Ukrainian territory to Europe.

The agreement provided that Russia's GazProm would take part in expansion of the Ukrainian gas transport system under the condition that the facilities be held in joint ownership.

But the agreement, according to the Prosecutor's office contradicts a 1992 Cabinet decree, which banned privatization of main pipelines.

Russian Official on Ties With Western Region

WS2512084295 Lvov VYSOKYY ZAMOK in Ukrainian 16 Dec 95 pp 1,2

[Interview with Anatoliy Kovalev, Russian consul general in Lvov, by Lyudmyla Nosaryeva in Lvov; date not given: "Anatoliy Kovalev: 'Russia Will More Quickly Consolidate as a Democratic State if Ukraine Remains Sovereign'"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Nosaryeva] **How are Russia's highest authorities assessing the development of our bilateral relations?**

[Kovalev] Russia attaches great importance to the western region of Ukraine and the development of contacts with it; and the consulate is fully authorized to deal with economic, cultural, political, diplomatic, and other issues that may arise between Russia and Ukraine. I think that the opinion about your region is somewhat distorted (the media, too, are to be blamed for this), and not only in Moscow, where people know little about western Ukraine. However, one cannot obtain objective information in Kiev either. As soon as I came here, I began studying your region, and met with the oblast's leaders, company directors, businessmen, etc. However, when I asked them to provide economic specifications, it proved that they did not exist (in a prepared form). Lvov, which I considered to be the capital of the western region, surprisingly proved to be somewhat in the shadows. I have the impression that processes which are taking place in Ternopil, Rivne, and Transcarpathia are more intensive (the consulate general encompasses eight western Ukrainian oblasts), though there are outstanding companies in the Lvov region which used to manufacture equipment and products which were always in demand in Russia. Currently, they do not do that. You thus need investments and channels for selling products, and I am convinced that Russia can help here. And I believe, your region is also interested in this. The consulate general has thus sent a work concept regarding economic issues to Moscow. It is currently being studied there, including at a high level. Western Ukraine, in my opinion, is the most stable region in terms of politics. Russia and other countries could thus safely come here with their capital and technologies, of course provided there is consent on the part of Ukraine. They also could create new workplaces. Russian businessmen are not yet eager to come to Ukraine, because they see more alluring prospects in the West or East. Nevertheless, I think this matter will progress. Your side has taken certain steps to meet us halfway.

I have received 16 pages of programs in which Russia could participate. Our concept is thus to return Rus-

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

sia (with Ukraine's consent) to these eight Ukrainian oblasts at the state level. This requires a long-term program for our cooperation and partnership, and Russia should be represented in this process by the most serious organizations. Kiev also has supported this concept.

[Nosaryeva] Although a number of fine agreements have already been signed between Ukraine and Russia, one cannot see any results so far....

[Kovalev] There is no mechanism of implementing them in practice. Also needed is a concrete contractor. The Russian State Investment Corporation, run by Yuriy Vladimirovich Petrov, former chief of the Yeltsin administration and currently one of the top Russian businessmen, could become such a contractor.

[Nosaryeva] The 12 million Ukrainians living in Russia would obviously support this as well.

[Kovalev] Of course, they would, and so would many other people. I think Russia will more quickly consolidate as a democratic state if Ukraine remains sovereign. Your country has selected its own path. In our opinion, it is not significantly different than the Russian path. So let us experiment, think, and build together. I think Ukraine should not build its policy to spite Russia. One should not reject everything that comes from our side. I, for example, as Russian consul general, came here with a wish to assist our teamwork in the most constructive manner, and I cannot understand, for example, why Ostankino television was taken off the air. I would like to open a Ukrainian or joint Russian-Ukrainian television channel on a parity basis. This would be a way of receiving the most genuine and complete information about Ukraine. The opposite stance leads to isolation.

[Nosaryeva] Why is the signing of a Russian-Ukrainian treaty is being delayed?

[Kovalev] The complexity of this issue requires... The relations between Russia and Ukraine are not easy. It was perhaps necessary to restrict ourselves to political statements concerning the essence of our ties, and then begin to slowly and carefully draft a serious political document which does not not pursue the interests of the moment. This is a matter of approach. There are many other unresolved issues which will come to the fore tomorrow, and my experience suggests that there is no need to rush. After all, the world is monitoring relations between us. In Europe, much depends on how they develop. [passage omitted]

Future of Black Sea Fleet at Donuzlav Uncertain

LD2312190995 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Dec 95

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] In Crimea, Russia and Ukraine continue to divide up the Black Sea Fleet. Our correspondent reports on how this is being done:

[Correspondent S. Milyanchikov, Donuzlav] The things taking place in Donuzlav at the moment are very reminiscent of the theater of the absurd. Under the decisions taken by the two presidents, Ukraine is taking over the coastal infrastructure and some of the warships of the once united fleet. The transfer of the depots is going quite smoothly because storage space can always be found. But the situation with the warships is a complete muddle. In the next 24 hours, these large landing craft will leave their berths forever in order to continue their service at Sevastopol. One of them has been assigned to the Ukrainians, but it still does not have a crew. For several months now, all the fleet's shore services have been receiving their electricity supplies from the warships. The most popular heating device is this small stove, which sometimes seems quite absurd against the background of state-of-the-art naval equipment. [video shows servicemen feeding firewood into a stove]

Ukraine is only taking over these modern hovercraft. No other country has any like them. Travelling at a speed of up to 70 kph, they are capable of landing marines on any coast. They can cross not only water but also marsh and sand. Officers manning these craft said the Ukrainian navy has neither the funds nor the specialists to keep these warships in a state of combat readiness. This means that sooner or later, they will end up in the scrapyard. [video shows piles of rubbish, warships, including hovercraft, dilapidated billets and offices, port scenes with lines of wind turbines in the background]

Gromov Gives Russian Stance on Black Sea Fleet

MK2312125495 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by Oleg Leus: "New Structure of Black Sea Fleet Elaborated. Deadline of Agreement Between Russia and Ukraine on Black Sea Fleet Draws Near"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Feliks Gromov, commander in chief of the Russian Federation Navy, has set out the stance of the Russian Government and the military leadership on the Black Sea Fleet. It is contained in a cable sent to the Black Sea Fleet command.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

The transition period for the Black Sea Fleet, established under the Yalta agreement between Ukraine and the Russian Federation of 3 August 1992, ends in 1995. Despite all the efforts of the Russian side, terms of an agreement with Ukraine to finally define the status of the Russian Federation Black Sea Fleet on Ukraine's territory and the parameters of its division have not been fully hammered out. Russia's stand on this question remains unchanged: All facilities in Sevastopol and some facilities outside it will be in use for the Russian Federation Black Sea Fleet, which will make it possible to preserve the Black Sea Fleet at a size that will guarantee Russia's interests also in the future.

The statement by the Russian Navy commander in chief Feliks Gromov says that the Russian side, in connection with the expiration of the transition period, plans no unilateral move with regard to the Black Sea Fleet unless the Ukrainian side takes a step aimed at destabilizing the situation.

According to the commander in chief, the draft agreement on the status and terms of stay of the Black Sea Fleet on Ukrainian soil has virtually been coordinated by both sides. It includes a number of provisions of a social nature. All military formations will conduct their activities where stationed in correspondence with the Russian law. Russia shall undertake their upkeep, funding, and manning. Servicemen and their families shall enjoy the same rights as Ukrainian nationals with regard to education, property rights, and social privileges. Talks are also in progress on dual citizenship. Considering Ukraine's stand on the issue, however, the signing of an agreement on dual citizenship appears unlikely in the near future. All Black Sea Fleet servicemen at the moment are citizens of Russia, and they enjoy all the rights set forth in the Russian Federation law "On the Status of Servicemen." If discharged into the reserves in Ukrainian territory, Black Sea Fleet sailors shall be covered by the terms of the agreement on social and legal guarantees for persons discharged from military service and their families signed in Minsk by the heads of CIS member countries in 1992.

The federal law on the moratorium on dividing the Black Sea Fleet, passed by the State Duma, Feliks Gromov thinks, was drawn up without regard for the actual situation in the Russian armed forces and the tasks of reforming them. Therefore, the Federation Council turned down this law. Reform of the armed forces calls for considerable cuts in the strength and funding of the Navy even before 1 January 1996 and — correspondingly — for cutting the Black Sea Fleet.

Despite the shortage of budget funds and the lack of financing from Ukraine, the Black Sea Fleet structures remained over the last three years virtually as they were before, at the expense of downsizing other Russian fleets, which Russia's military leadership thinks is now impossible.

The Defense Ministry has now worked out a structure of the Russian Federation Black Sea Fleet, which will be stationed in Crimea after all the fundamental questions have been solved on the intergovernmental level.

National Affairs

Moroz Calls For National Debate on Constitution

LD2512191395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 25 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, Dec 25 (Interfax-Ukraine) — Ukrainian Parliamentary Chairman Oleksandr Moroz today called for the draft of the country's new constitution to be submitted for nationwide discussion.

"The parliament should pass the country's constitution in the first reading and then publish it in the media," Moroz said in a phone interview with readers of the Voice of Ukraine newspaper Monday.

"A special law should regulate the procedure for adopting the new constitution," Moroz said.

Previously, Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma said that if the parliament failed to adopt the constitution (two thirds of MPs' votes are required for this — IF-Ukraine), he would initiate a national referendum on the draft constitution.

Moroz said that under the constitutional treaty, the president could submit a draft of the new constitution to a nationwide referendum only after coordinating the draft with the legislature.

A constitutional commission working group is about to complete work on the draft of the country's new constitution. In late November, the constitutional commission approved the draft "as a basis for further work."

Kuchma Sees Fresh Elections as 'Inexpedient'

LD2212190795 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 22 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — At a meeting with the Ukrainian Supreme Council factions and groupings, President Leonid Kuchma supported the idea that it would be inexpedient to hold fresh elections right after the adoption of the new Constitution of Ukraine, a leader of the "Independent" grouping, Vadym Hetman, has told UNIAN.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

According to Hetman, both the president and people's deputies believe that the experiences of Russia and Poland prove that parliament can be orientated towards one color only [if re-elected].

The main issue under discussion was the expediency of setting up a bicameral parliament in Ukraine. Hetman said the majority of groupings and factions, except for "Statehood," spoke in favor of preserving the unicameral parliament. According to Hetman, Kuchma was not making any categorical statements in support of a bicameral parliament and acknowledged that there could also be a unicameral parliament. The participants in the meeting discussed the possibility of the two chambers' coexistence on condition that a provision to that effect was included in the text of the Constitution. In particular, it was proposed that the existing Supreme Council be turned into a lower chamber and 100 deputies transferred to the upper chamber.

The leader of the Socialist faction, Ivan Chyzh, told journalists the president said that the Constitution should be adopted not later than May 1996 and that its final version should be ready by February for that reason.

Hetman said the leaders of the Supreme Council groupings and factions will hold a conference on 26 December to work out joint approaches to the key provisions of the draft new Constitution.

Cabinet Approves Procedure for Natural Gas

LD2512205195 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1545 GMT 25 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — A Cabinet of Ministers' resolution has approved the procedure for providing the population and national economy with natural gas in 1996, UNIAN learned from the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 25 December.

The document stipulates that the state oil and gas company will supply natural gas to the population, municipal and domestic consumers, and state-financed organizations. Other consumers of natural gas, such as businesses, will purchase natural gas from wholesale importers (businesses based in Ukraine). Wholesale importers will provide natural gas to all businesses in selected areas.

The joint-stock company Ukrhazprom, Ukrnafta, and Chornomornaftohaz have been awarded the right to sell their own gas to gas selling organizations to satisfy the requirements of the population, municipal and domestic consumers, state-financed organizations, and other consumers that are directly connected to their supply lines. In accordance with the government resolution, gas selling organizations will sell natural gas to the population, municipal and domestic consumers, and state-financed organizations by purchasing domestically produced gas as well as imported gas, and will sell gas to other consumers solely by importing it. The Ministry of Finance, the government of Crimea, and city administrations are to monitor on a permanent basis the keeping of current accounts and will ensure that establishments and organizations, which are financed out of state and local budgets, repay their debts for the natural gas they have used. In the event that settlements are not conducted on time for the consumption and transport of gas, gas supplies will be temporarily suspended and may be completely withdrawn.

Imminent 'Power Crisis' in Crimea Assessed

WS2612112895 Simferopol GOLOS KRYMA in Russian 15 Dec 95 p 2

[Commentary by Yuliy Vadymov: "Passions Around Power"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A regular power crisis is ripening in Crimea and everything is on track for a division of governmental portfolios. If Anatoliy Franchuk is elected Ukrainian Supreme Council deputy, the post of Crimean prime minister could become vacant. Well, such a post will never be vacant for long! According to Crimean Supreme Soviet Speaker Yevheniy Suprunyuk, deputies' factions have already discussed at least 15 (!) potential candidates for the post of Crimean prime minister.

There is an opinion in Crimean Supreme Soviet corridors that both current deputy prime ministers Andrey Senchenko and Arkadiy Demidenko, as well as "the Crimean Jefferson" Anushevan Danelyan, chairman of the Crimean Supreme Soviet Constitutional Commission and Crimean Supreme Soviet deputy speaker, have the greatest prospects for becoming head of the executive power in the Crimean Autonomous Republic.

At issue here is not only the post of prime minister, but also ministerial portfolios, and candidates for them are almost uncountable! This is the situation which could trigger a genuine staff revolution. It is no accident that at their recent meeting members of the Cabinet of Ministers asked and implored to shift the governmental report — scheduled for 8 December — which could trigger "unexpected consequences," to January 1996. But the legislature, judging from everything, does not intend to give up. The time for a "report" is very suitable, because the people are timidly complaining about frequent disconnections from the central power grid, delays in pay, and other "delights" of our life.

But given all the sharpness of a regular squabble in the upper echelons of Crimean power, the current

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

government report profoundly differs — in its potential consequences — from similar developments which took place a year ago. If one can still remember, a "report" by Yevheniy Saburov's government inevitably implied a no-confidence vote in "Meshkov's team" and, naturally, the shift of initiative from the "Russia" bloc to centrists headed by Vladimir Shevyev, Anushevan Danelyan, and their like-minded colleagues. Today, however, in light of future governmental changes, the "status quo" virtually does not change, because political forces oriented toward the Party for Economic Revival of Crimea [PEVK] continue to control the government.

The current attack against the government also differs from developments which took place in the Crimean Supreme Soviet in March of this year. At the time, as is known, "groggy" Meshkov and Tsekov's colleagues launched their "last and determined attack" to recover the power they had lost. To be more exact, communists, who for a long time were up in arms against the "party of fat cats" (this is how Crimean successors to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, who also did not experience any financial difficulties, called PEVK), used them as a battering ram. It is no accident that at the time Crimean Communist Party member Anatoliy Drobotov was nominated to "counterbalance capitalist" Anatoliy Franchuk. The alliance of communists and RDK members [expansion unknown], however, threatened to destabilize the knotty political situation in Crimea.

Precisely for this reason, the Ukrainian Supreme Council as well as Leonid Grach's single-minded colleagues from leftist factions unanimously rebuffed the then feeble efforts by radical Crimean deputies to "ruin the foundations of society." A well-known decree of the Ukrainian Supreme Council, dated 17 March, along with Leonid Kuchma's edict of 31 March were issued. They in fact withdrew the Crimean Government from the gravitational field of the local legislature. Only when official Kiev was sure that separatist tendencies in the highest legislative body of Crimea had somewhat subsided was the government of the autonomous republic again put under supervision of the Crimean Supreme Soviet.

Hence, current emotions around power are no longer of a geopolitical nature, as they were six months ago, but, now they are of a domestic, purely Crimean nature.

Nevertheless, even an "internal squabble" usually discourages guests from visiting a house from which the noise of breaking dishes can be heard! Although Crimean Supreme Soviet Chairman Yevheniy Suprunyuk pointed out in his talk with British Ambassador to Ukraine Roy Reeve that there is some stabilization of the political situation in the region, British guests, as well as other potential investors from the West and the East do not hurry to invest sizable assets in the Crimean economy. It is no accident that Sir Roy Reeve compared the current image of Crimea with the notorious image of Northern Ireland. Alas, as a well-known Shakespearian hero said: "Something is rotten in the State of Denmark."

Crimean Parliament Speaker on Kiev Relations

LD2512211995 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1545 GMT 25 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — "I am troubled above all by economic issues — so that Crimea can conduct its economic policy independently," Yevhen Suprunyuk, chairman of the Crimean Supreme Council, said on 25 December in an exclusive interview with UNIAN. He said the republic has every possibility of formulating its budget independently and conducting its own tax policies, provided it enjoys freedom of action.

In his assessment of the state of mutual relations between Simferopol and Kiev, the speaker of the Crimean parliament said: "It is necessary to delineate clearly the powers, and I should be in a position to know exactly what the Crimean leadership is now responsible for."

Touching on the activities of the Crimean government, Suprunyuk noted that in the five months he has been active and in the 14 months of the government's activity, he has not come across a specific program for pulling the republic out of the economic crisis.

The speaker of the Crimean parliament said that at the moment there were three real candidates for the post of Crimean prime minister from the left wing and two from the right. He has his own point of view on the candidacy for the post of prime minister.

Replying to a question from UNIAN on relations with Moscow, Suprunyuk said that he has not had a single official meeting with Russian leaders. However, according to the speaker, he plans to visit Moscow next January to discuss mainly economic issues.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Belarus

President, Prime Minister Meet Japanese Businessmen

WS2212154895 Minsk BELAPAN in English 1520 GMT 22 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] A numerous delegation of representatives of large Japanese companies is staying in Minsk. On the delegation, which arrived in the Belarusian capital on the evening of December 21, are the Japanese ambassador to Russia, and representatives of the Japanese Moscow-based Export-Import Bank, as well as of Mitsubishi, Marubeni, Nissho Iwai, Sumitomo and Mitsui. On December 22 at 8.20 am they held negotiations with Prime Minister Mikhail Chyhir, and at 10 am with President Alyaksandr Lukashenka. In the afternoon the delegation is to meet Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Mikhail Marynich and Foreign Minister Uladzimir Syanko. At 5 pm the Japanese businessmen are expected to visit the National Bank. On December 23 the delegation will leave for Moscow.

Oil Joint Venture Deal Signed With Russian Companies

WS2212155195 Minsk BELAPAN in English 1520 GMT 22 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] On December 21 the Belarusian government and the Russian oil companies Lukoil and Yukos signed a general agreement for the establishment of a Belarusian-Russian closed joint-stock company on the territory of the Republic of Belarus. The Belarusian party will possess 26 percent the authorized capital, the Russian party — 74 percent.

As a BELAPAN correspondent was informed by a source in government circles, the administration of the Naftan production amalgamation will be handed over to the new company for 7 years from the moment of the conclusion of a relevant trust agreement. The Belarusian government guarantees that if Naftan is transformed into a joint-stock company, 51 percent of the Naftan shares will remain in the possession of the Republic of Belarus during the period of validity of the trust agreement.

The source also said that according to the general agreement Naftan's deep oil-processing plant which is now under construction will be controlled by a Russian-Belarusian closed joint-stock company with 51 percent of the shares belonging to the Russian party and 49 to the Belarusian party. The Belarusian government is to create favourable conditions for the enterprise to attract and repay credits aimed at the construction of the deep oil-processing plant and to guarantee tax privileges to the above-said joint-stock companies during the whole period of the validity of the trust agreement, the construction of the plant and the repayment of credits. Lukoil and Yukos will be the guarantors of credits to finance the construction. In addition these companies guarantee the annual provision of the joint-stock companies with 7 million tonnes.

According to the source, the contracting parties are to work out the joint-stock companies' founding documents within 30 days from the moment of signing of the present agreement. The Belarusian government is to secure their registration.

Interior Official Warns Ministry May Be Under KGB

WS2212160095 Minsk BELAPAN in English 1520 GMT 22 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Over 9,000 people were given employment this year in the national law enforcement bodies. About 4,000 people were dismissed. These figures were cited at the December 21 sitting of the Ministry of Internal Affairs Collegium with the attendance of the State Secretary of the Security Council Viktar Sheyman. Participants at the sitting discussed personnel policy and the forthcoming attestation of the servicemen of the law enforcement bodies. According to information received, the former Internal Troops Commander-in-Chief and the present Minister for Internal Affairs, Major General Valyantsin Ahalets, known for his devotion to the President, confirmed again his readiness to execute any orders of the Head of State. Mr. Sheyman warned the leadership of the ministry and the whole staff that if in the near future they fail to ensure proper order and stability in the Ministry, it will be placed under the command of the Committee for State Security [KGB].

Moldova

Reportage, Commentary on Elections in Dniester

More Than 48 Percent of Voters Cast Ballots

LD2412173295 Moscow Radionantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1600 GMT 24 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Voting took place in the breakaway Dniester region of Moldova. They are electing the Supreme Soviet and participating in a referendum on a new constitution and on the possibility of the republic's membership in the CIS.

Petr Denisenko, chairman of the Dniester Central Electoral Commission, has told our radio station that the elections are deemed valid.

[Begin Denisenko recording] The present voting could be considered quite satisfactory — with 48.7 percent of

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

the voters of the entire electorate having cast their votes by now from 0900 in the morning. Voting was brisk, and the elections will end at 2000. After this we will sum up the preliminary results as far as voting and the electorate are concerned. [end recording]

According to Grigoriy Marakutsa, Dniester's current parliamentary speaker, today's voting will stabilize the regional situation. However, Chisinau believes that today's voting and the referendum are unwise and illegal. Let us remind you that Moldova regards Dniester region as a part of its territory and favors Tiraspol becoming autonomous, while the latter, in its turn, insists on maintaining the symbols of state power and state structures. The Dniester region's intention to become a sovereign republic four years ago resulted in the armed conflict that lasted for more than a year.

Run-Off Elections for Most Districts

LD2512104695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1028 GMT 25 Dec 95

[By Valeriy Dimidetskiy]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] CHISINAU December 25 (Itar-Tass) — According to preliminary information, 58 per cent of voters participated on Sunday [24 December] in the parliamentary elections in the unrecognised Dniester Moldovan Republic and in a referendum on the new Constitution and entry of the region into the CIS on an independent basis. Nearly 90 per cent of those who participated in the voting and the referendum declared in favour of the region's entering the CIS on an independent basis and endorsed the new fundamental law of the Dniester Republic, Itar-Tass learned from the electoral commission on Monday. Under the local legislation, the elections and the referendum are regarded valid.

As to the parliamentary elections, there will be run-off elections in most election districts, according to preliminary information of the electoral commission.

Majority of Voters Favor Independence

LD2512144595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1324 GMT 25 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tiraspol, Dec 25 (Interfax) — Last Sunday the overwhelming majority of Transdniestria's voters supported adopting a new constitution for the self-proclaimed Transdniestrian-Moldovan republic and joining the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Elections to Transdniestria's Supreme Soviet and a referendum on the republic's new constitution and on its joining the CIS were held in this region on December 24.

Chairman of Transdniestria's Central Electoral Commission (CEC) Pyotr Denisenko told Interfax Monday that about 58.4 percent of the electorate (451,614 voters registered in the lists - IF) participated in the elections and referendum as of 12:00 a.m. local time of December 25.

Asked whether they support Transdniestria's new constitution, 81.6 percent of voters gave a positive answer.

The first chapter of the constitution, in particular, says that the Transdniestrian Moldovan republic is a sovereign independent legal democratic state.

According to the CEC, about 86.2 percent of the referendum's participants favored Transdniestria's joining the CIS.

A total of 54 out of 76 deputies were elected to Transdniestria's Supreme Soviet, including 35 deputies to the chamber of representatives and 19 out of 32 deputies to the chamber of legislators.

A repeated vote is to be held in 13 constituencies because none of the candidates collected the needed majority of votes.

An eight-strong delegation of Russian State Duma deputies, largely representatives of the Communist, Democratic and Agrarian Parties, were following the elections and referendum in Transdniestria which Moldova's leadership announced illegal.

Chairman of Transdniestria's Supreme Soviet Grigoriy Marakutsa, who was again elected to the parliament, said in an exclusive interview with Interfax that he hopes for stabilization of the situation in the region after the elections.

"We have no illusions, and we do not think that the CIS will recognize and admit us, but all CIS member countries should know and take into consideration the opinion of our people. We cannot be satisfied with Moldova's membership in the CIS. It does not participate either in the military or political union and is not a member of the customs and payment unions. This does not suit us, we want to establish a closer integration with CIS states," Marakutsa said.

Southern Towns To Hold Polls on Joining Gagauzia

AU2512191595 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1930 GMT 22 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Comrat, 22/12/1995 (BASA-press) — A Moldovan governmental commission led by Vice Economics Minister Vitalie Slipenchi will finalize by January 1996 the institutional foundation of the Gagauz Yeri autonomy as a territorial administrative formation within Moldova.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

BASA-press learned from government sources that in accordance to an agreement reached with Governor Georgi Tabunshchik and Gagauz People's Assembly Chairman Piotr Pashaly, the demands by several southern localities to hold a poll on entering or leaving Gagauz-Yeri will be examined only after the commission concludes its activity.

12 Moldovan villages of Vulcanesti district were left without administrative center after 4 villages of the district, including the district center, joined Gagauz Yeri.

Sadac villagers, earlier transferred to Cantemir district, requested to enter Gagauz Yeri along with villages of Borogani, Burlaceni and Bascalia. Pashaly thinks these demands should be examined as soon as possible since the Gagauz budget would be soon approved.

According to the Gagauz People's Party, the initiative to hold a referendum on Sadac village adherence to the autonomy was launched in Comrat. The village is now temporarily under the jurisdiction of both Comrat and Cantemir districts.

Dniester Votes To Consolidate Statehood

AU2512201595 Chisinau INFOTAG in English 1930 GMT 25 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tiraspol, December 1995 (INFOTAG) — Elections to the local parliament (Supreme Soviet) took place in the separatist Dniester republic last Sunday. Simultaneously, two referenda were held — on the region's new constitution and on joining the CIS.

According to Monday's preliminary data supplied by the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission [CEC], Pyotr Denisenko, the polling stations were visited by 58.4 percent of the 451,614 residents placed on the electoral registers. Initially, the voters' rolls contained 499,499 names. The difference was due to "population migration," the commission has interpreted. However, local observers are explaining the 48,000 reduction during one day only with the CEC's attempts to raise the attendance percentage. The first referendum question, "Do you approve of the new Constitution of the Dniester Moldovan Republic?," received positive answers of 81.6 percent of those who came to poling stations. And the second question, "Do you approve of the Dniester Moldovan Republic's joining the CIS and its interstate structures?," polled 86.2 percent of "yes" answers. 54-of-67 deputies have been elected to the Dniester Parliament, namely all the 35 deputies to the chamber of representatives (5 from each of Dniester areas, Tiraspol and Bender), and 19-of-32 deputies to the chamber of legislature. The remaining 13 electoral districts shall have a repeated voting, to make a final choice among the two candidates who polled most votes in each of them.

A total of 346 polling stations were opened in the region. The 67 seats in the forum were contested by 213 candidates. Each seat in the Chamber of Legislature was run by 1 to 5-6 candidates, and in the Chamber of Representatives — by 7-10 candidates for each 5 mandates. The toughest competition was in Tiraspol, where the 5 seat quota was contested by 33 candidates.

On Monday, Pyotr Denisenko could not yet tell us which force would win a majority in the future Parliament. The chief struggle was between the left-wing radical Bloc of Patriotic Forces, headed by the maverick professor Vasiliy Yakovlev, and the moderate Movement for Development of Dniester, which unites centrist politicians and industry directors. However, the voting was not by party lists, and the electorate voted just for "the names they knew," being largely unaware which political forces the candidates represented.

The elections and the referenda, which had been announced as illegitimate by the Moldovan leadership, were observed by 8 deputies of the new Russian State Duma. They represented the Communist, Agrarian, and Democratic Parties of the Russian Federation. Residents in Dniester rural localities were substantially more active yesterday than their urban compatriots.

According to the region's Central Electoral Commission, the attendance rate in the Dubasari area was 72 percent, in the Kamenka area — 63 percent, in Rabnita city 55, and in Tiraspol 52.6 percent.

Most voters came to polling stations in the morning. At Dniester biggest station in Tiraspol, with 2,758 voters included in the lists, the people were even queuing before polling booths. The Dniester president Igor Smirnov was among the first to have arrived at this station very early in the morning.

Most of them were elderly people, who are, traditionally, the most active and disciplined electorate. However, last Sunday one could see a lot of medium-age people, married couples with children on their arms. Most voters were quite poorly dressed, but in good moods, and congratulated each other with a big holiday — the election day.

A dozen of voters, whom your correspondent asked at the station, replied they had given positive answers to both referenda questions. All of them expressed hope that "the referenda results will consolidate the Dniester statehood, promote a further integration with Russia, and solution of our complicated economic problems. I realize that the unrecognized Dniester is unable to join the CIS immediately. But we do need a constitution of

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

our own, and we need to do something to improve our lives," a middle-aged man said. "I voted for people of deed," he added.

Local residents voted for people they knew, favourite industry directors, and political organizations. With all that, very few of them were aware which party this or that candidate represented, because the ballot papers did not mention that. Pre-electoral leaflets each candidate issued before December 24 did not indicate his or her party affiliation, either. That is why the elections can be qualified as multi-party ones with only a considerable degree of conventionality.

Practically none of the candidates advertised their party affiliation, but they were busy boasting of their merits "in consolidating the Dniester statehood and sovereignty," and "in the struggle against Moldovan nationalists." With this regard, there was an idyllic harmony between the two chief rivals — the Bloc of Patriotic Forces and the Movement for Development of Dniester. The only party known to local residents was the Communist Party. Much of the electorate voted for the communists — "honest people who will surely restore order and eliminate the current political brothel," said 65 year old veteran of the Soviet Air Force, Yuriy Yudin.

He says he cannot feel happy living on his pension worth $9 a month. His fellow veteran pilots and friends living in Russia, who have the rank, grade and position similar to his one, receive $150 pensions. His wife, a 62-year old pensioner, gets some $2 a month, but also voted for the communists, "for I count on Russia's help in improving the unbearable situation." Their neighbour Valentina Sokolova, a 67 year old pensioner, said "I voted for the communists. With them at power, we were never hungry." .

Younger people did not state openly their communist sympathies. They just said they voted "for those who are able to promote the Dniester recognition, joining the CIS, and to bring back our former life stability. I believe, there is no more 'fraternity of Soviet peoples.' Everybody is surviving as he or she can. That is why an integration of former Soviet republics is particularly essential. We can solve all our problems only when we are united," stressed Alena Fadeyeva, a 20 year old nicely dressed student of the Tiraspol University, with enthusiastic nods of her mother.

All those questioned yesterday by the INFOTAG correspondent spoke for solving the Dniester problem through negotiations with Chisinau, but in the framework of a single unified state within the former USSR territory. They all emphasized the question of restoring the powerful unified state, saying that in that case the Dniester problem will automatically vanish as such.

Elections Seen Causing New Problems

AU2312160095 Chisinau INFOTAG in English 1930 GMT 21 Dec 95

["'Tiraspol Leaders Seeking To Consolidate Dniester Statehood Through Elections and Referenda' — INFOTAG Commentary"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau, December 21 (INFOTAG) — Next Sunday [24 December], the unrecognized Dniester Republic will be electing its new Parliament — the Supreme Soviet.

This will be for the first time when the important political event will be arranged in conformity with the recently adopted new Election Law, which envisages participation of various political parties and establishment of a bicameral legislative forum.

Through building a more or less democratic power, the Tiraspol leaders are seeking to consolidate the statehood of the self-styled republic, which has been existing de facto for over 5 years, despite its political and, partly, economic isolation.

During that period, the region became a world champion in organizing various referenda and public opinion polls, with all of them pursuing one principal goal — to strengthen the statehood, and to attain an international recognition of the breakaway territorial unit.

Beginning from the memorable 1991 referendum on the USSR preservation, which was enthusiastically supported by local residents, the Dniester inhabitants were then invited to take part in several more analogous events. They showed an enviable unanimity in voting for independence and statehood, and last spring demonstrated a high team spirit in demanding the Russian troops to stay in the region.

The referenda results have been skillfully used by the Tiraspol leaders in attaining their political objectives, and in justifying their basic political line — to finally divorce Moldova, and to steer the negotiation process in the "necessary direction."

Realizing all that, Chisinau does not wish to lose control over the situation, either. This has led to confronting stances, reciprocal criticism, and practically upset the negotiation process, which has been at the freezing point during the last 6 months.

The official Chisinau reproached Tiraspol in its taking time and waiting for the results of the Russian parliamentary elections, for the Dniester leaders were and are looking forward to a more active Russian assistance. In its turn, Tiraspol has always spoken for the restoration of the USSR and for a closest-possible integration with

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Russia, and even begged to join it. Neither is Tiraspol concealing its joy about the election victory by the Communist and Liberal Democratic Parties in Russia.

This victory — which will logically entail a new and intensive support by Moscow and is likely to finally bury Chisinau's faint hope to have the Russian troops withdrawn — will, no doubt, be extensively utilized by the separatist leaders in strengthening their position.

It is not a coincidence that they decided to "supplement" the December 24 parliamentary elections with two more referenda — on the new constitution adoption, and on joining the CIS. These two polls are attached more importance to than even the parliamentary elections, and president Igor Smirnov has openly announced that "the two referenda must consolidate our position in the negotiations with Chisinau."

Upon learning the happy Russian election results, it is very unlikely that Tiraspol will seek to promote the negotiations with Chisinau. Now it will be cherishing hope on Russia's recognition of the Dniester republic, rather then to struggle for an autonomy in the framework of the Republic of Moldova. There exist all prerequisites for thinking so: These were exactly the Communist Party and the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia which pushed through all the decisions in the Duma which were so dear to Tiraspol.

The perspective of such developments has been clearly demonstrated in the appeal of the Russian Communist Party leader Gennadiy Zyuganov who, in such a busy post-election period, found a possibility to address to the Dniester population and called them to take an active part in the elections and the two referenda, expressed regret about the break up of the USSR, and assured them of the communists' striving for integration on the ex-USSR territory.

There are absolutely no doubts that the December 24 referenda will reveal that over 90 percent of the Dniester inhabitants will vote for the new constitution and joining the Commonwealth. There is nothing surprising that the impoverished population who are able to earn no more than 7-8 dollars worth a month, on the average, are praying for the CIS integration and Russia's help in overcoming the current crisis.

One may bravely predict a high activity of local residents in the elections as well. This enthusiasm can be explained by the fact that the region is largely inhabited by pensioners, Soviet Army veterans, and just elderly people who were born and raised in the 'Soviet electoral democracy' environment, when the attendance used to be no less than 99.99 percent. There is nothing surprising that Dniester looks "a socialist island" in the eyes of visiting foreigners, including Russians, though local leaders are trumpeting they are struggling for market reforms and socialist values — all at once.

The "socialist values" are still the key driving force in the hearts of most Dniester voters who are ready to queue for hours for rationed bread and milk, but only "to remain faithful to our ideals." No doubt, they will come to polling stations. No doubt, they will vote positively. If, by any wonder, the attendance will be lower than expected, then the authorities are likely to resort to the experience of the past spring, when the local elections were ignored by many, and when it took only one night for the central electoral commission to make the voter lists "more precise," by having thrown out several dozens of thousand names. Such a reduction immediately pushed the attendance up to the desired percentage.

According to our data, there are some 500,000 people eligible to vote in Dniester. However, nobody so far dares to state what the "exact" figure will be next Sunday.

The 35 seats in the Chamber of Representatives are being contested by 127 candidates, and 32 chairs in the Chamber of Legislature — by 86 applicants. They represent 4 political blocs — the radical Bloc of Patriotic Forces headed by the maverick professor Vasiliy Yakovlev, the centrist Movement for Development of Dniester, backing the current authorities, the Labour Movement of Dniester, which includes several active leaders of the United Council of Labour Collectives, and a group of independent candidates.

All the four have approximately equal chances for success. Three of them, except the Labour Movement, are in the opposition to the current administration. For instance, the Movement for Development of Dniester is headed by moderately-minded politicians who favour the constructive negotiations with Chisinau and market-oriented reforms, and their coming to power could change the situation for the better. On the contrary, a victory of the Bloc of Patriotic Forces is fraught with greater aggravations and final undermining of everything positive achieved in the negotiation process.

The Patriotic Forces are categorically against any negotiations, private property and "capitalization of the economy," and equally categorically for the Dniester statehood outside Moldova, for restoration of the USSR and socialism. The nostalgic moods of most Dniester inhabitants have led this Bloc to a victory in the recent local elections in many localities, including in Tiraspol. Their victory on December 24 cannot be ruled out.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Taking into consideration the new alignment of forces in Russia, the powerful pro-Dniester lobby in Moscow, and the easy-to-predict results of the forthcoming two referenda, one can easily believe that the next Sunday will give birth to new problems. And though the three events, which will have no international observers to watch, have been proclaimed non-legitimate by Chisinau, the problems they will produce will need many years to solve.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Weekly Interview 25 Dec

LD2512125195 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0611 GMT 25 Dec 95

[Weekly interview with President Shevardnadze by Nato Oniani; live, place not given]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Nato Oniani] Good morning. We present an interview with Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze.

In discussing last week's economic news, could you please concentrate on the energy crisis especially since it was again a difficult week in this respect? [passage omitted]

The confirmation of ministers was completed last week. You have already held your first meeting with them. Most of them were in the last government.

[Shevardnadze] Thank you. I would like to start with the latter issue.

As you said, the formation of the country's new government was completed last week. The meeting between the new ministers and the president was extremely important. It discussed the role of ministries in the implementation of state policy as well as their greater independence and the importance of such independence. It was stressed that ministers would be fully accountable for the situation in the spheres with which they have been entrusted. The fulfilment of the foreign and home policy objectives outlined in the president's program for socioeconomic development and supported by the absolute majority of the country's population will depend on the ability of individual members of the government to justify the confidence which the president, parliament, and the public in general have placed in them.

It was stressed at the meeting that we would actively support independence and greater accountability. All ministers will have an opportunity to show their ability, talent, and professionalism and to earn the respect of the people and the country through hard work. I have rather good impressions from the first meeting. Judging by the parliamentary hearings and this meeting, the ministers are ready for a new style of work. [passage omitted]

Many expected a complete change of government. The degree of change in the new government is rather great but it is within the limits of common sense. Considering the fact that there is no Cabinet of Ministers any more, which is one of the most significant changes, one should think that our decision to retain a group of experienced officials while promoting younger people was absolutely correct and justified.

In today's circumstances, some of the main indicators of the state of the country's economy are the progress of implementing the budget and the situation on the currency market.

Last week the tax inspectorate increased its contributions to the local and republican budgets to 5 million lari. The total amount collected this year has reached 177 million lari, just short of the forecast 180 million.

As for the Customs Department, it has collected 8.5 million dollars this year. This is considerably more than last year but at the same time, considerably less than what is possible. In order to use this potential it is necessary, apart from improving the work of the customs, to streamline the taxation system and scrap unjustified allowances.

It must be said in general that the first stage in the formation of the customs service, and especially the tax office, has been completed quite successfully. We should now talk of a different quality in the work of these services. When we start to examine the budget, all citizens will feel that special demands will be made on these services because they are the two main sources of budget revenue. [passage omitted]

Thanks to cooperation with international financial organizations, the Ministry of Finance has released additional budget allocations and reduced the size of state debt as at 1st December. It was the first time that such a significant action by our standards has been carried out. Up to 3 million lari was allocated to pay organizations of the social and cultural sphere and to maintain refugees in winter. Of this amount, 2 million lari was used to repay debts owed by the Television and Radio Corporation. Our viewers and listeners should know that we are helping the television. [passage omitted]

As you mentioned in your question, energy supply remains the most acute problem for the country. Last week the situation in the energy grid was still tense, I would say. On the other hand, one should not forget that the 9th Generating Set of Tbilisi District Power Station was commissioned. It had been repaired by German specialists from the Siemens Company with the involvement of Russian specialists and our best experts. It seems that the work has been completed. You know that this generating set has a power of 300 Mw but it will be a little while, at least several days, before it operates at full capacity.

Tbilisi District Power Station, which was shut down between May and October, is gradually gaining strength. Almost all essential repair work has already been completed. It is expected that four generating sets with a total power of 450-500 Mw will be operational. This

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

is a very substantial capacity for this winter. We have some reserves of fuel, including gas and fuel oil. I think that from the end of December onward, the population and enterprises will have a much more stable supply of electricity.

The restoration of the Georgian section of the 500-kw [as heard] Kavkasioni high-voltage line, which crosses the Caucasus Range, has been completed. There were some faults on the north Caucasus section but the Russian side has taken the appropriate measures, and, as Davit Zubitashvili [head of the Georgian Energy Department, Sakenegro] told me this morning, this line is effectively ready for commissioning.

In order to alleviate the situation in the energy grid, it is necessary to adhere to consumption restrictions. Unless we solve this problem, it will be difficult to talk of any stability. The problems in the financial situation remains acut. Had there been a normal situation concerning payment, the large amount of electricity produced by hydroelectric power stations in the summer and autumn would have led to good financial results. However, because of mass nonpayment, this opportunity was wasted.

How can the grid operate properly or how can the population and enterprises be supplied with electricity when, for example, the city of Tbilisi has a debt of 24 million lari. Kutaisi owes 5 million lari, Rustavi up to 2m, Poti 1.2m, the town of Zugdidi and Zugdidi District 2 million, the town of Gori and Gori District 2.5 million, Samtredia 1.5 million, Zestaponi 2.5 million, Mtskheta almost 2 million and so on. By the way, Mtskheta-Mtianeti Province, which uses as much gas as Rustavi and almost as much as Tbilisi, has not paid a single penny. It is impossible to live like that and in these conditions no system, including the energy grid, will be able to operate.

Now that Tbilisi District Power Station has resumed operation and the cost of generating 1 kwh of electricity has increased significantly because of the rising fuel prices, Sakenergo will probably be forced to review its tariffs from next year. I propose that we hold a special meeting in the New Year and decide that the president's representatives in the regions, heads of administration, mayors and heads of industrial enterprises should be personally accountable for these matters. I repeat that we cannot go on living and working like this. [passage omitted]

[Oniani] [passage omitted] Elections have been held in Chechnya. Expert forecasts were not exactly optimistic. You have always believed that the Chechen problem will be solved in one way or another. How would you comment on the elections in Chechnya?

[Shevardnadze] I would only make a brief comment on this because it concerns a region of a foreign country. In my opinion, the elections in Chechnya will not automatically bring peace to that long-suffering region. However, the elections themselves were an extremely important event. According to the results, large sections of society in Chechnya have turned their back on aggressive separatism and voted for new authorities which want the republic to have a fairly large degree of statehood within the Russian Federation. I think that it was a good start and it must be welcomed by the whole of the Caucasus and, especially, Georgia.

[Oniani] [passage omitted] The current situation in Abkhazia is extremely complex. The latest CIS summits in Minsk and Almaty made very good and useful decisions — useful not only for us, Georgia and the Georgians, but also in general — against aggressive separatism. These decisions were no less important than the ones taken at the [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] summit in Budapest. Another CIS summit is to be held shortly. Do you expect the Abkhaz issue to be on the agenda again?

[Shevardnadze] Thank you. I think that the Abkhaz conflict should be the subject of special discussion at the CIS meeting. At least, I am taking all measures for this to happen. As was said before, by settling the Abkhaz conflict, the CIS would be able to prove its viability and efficiency to the world. If an international regional organization fails to play an effective role in the settlement of such a localized conflict, then what is the value of the masses of treaties and declarations which the member states of this organization have signed. This is how, I think, this issue should be considered.

In general, the time has come for the world community, including the CIS and, of course, Russia, to take a fresh and decisive approach towards the conflicts in the Caucasus. I am saying this for the second or third time, if I am not wrong. Georgia is ready to use any means of action, including regular bilateral contacts and other methods, for the settlement of the Georgian-Abkhaz and Georgian-Ossetian conflicts. Leaving these problems unsolved prolongs the plight of the people and the trampling of citizens' rights and also poses a great danger of the outbreak of new fires and new casualties.

I would like to express confidence that 1996 will be a decisive year for the peace settlement in the Caucasus. Not only would this be in the interests of the population of this region but also of the entire world community. [passage omitted]

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

South Ossetian Official Favors Integration With North

LD2312153495 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 22 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Answering a question by a Tskhinvali radio correspondent on what the prospects of uniting the two parts of Ossetia are at present, Imali Mamiyev, deputy chairman of the republic's [South Ossetian] Supreme Soviet, has said that despite the fact that the South Ossetian republic has not been recognized by the United Nations Organization, its fate has long been decided by a referendum in which the people of South Ossetia cast their votes for the integration of the two Ossetias. He regards the integration of the Ossetias as an unavoidable historic process.

Responding to a request to express his view on the possibility for ethnic Georgian refugees to return to Tskhinvali and Znauri districts, he said that ethnic Georgians who have left the republic in the past could return to their homes only if they recognized formally the independent republic of South Ossetia and applied for its citizenship.

Interior Ministry Creates New Police Structure

LD2512184195 Tbilisi IPRINDA in Russian 1520 GMT 25 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Tbilisi, 25 Dec — According to the reports by the Georgian Interior Ministry press center, a new police structure was confirmed on 25 December at an operational session of the Interior Ministry. According to the new structure, the governing apparatus will be cut throughout the ministry. For example, several dozen jobs were cut in the central apparatus of the traffic police directorate.

The main traffic police directorate has been ordered to locate together with the Railways Department and cut off in the shortest possible time all powerlines that have been connected to the railways' power supply and are hampering cargo transit, thus creating conditions for an accident.

Similar orders were given to the Tbilisi Police Directorate in connection with the fact that gas stations and private trading kiosks are connected to the power supplies of the railway, subway, hospitals, and other vitally important installations.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

BULK RATE
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT NO. 352
MERRIFIELD, VA.

This is a U.S. Government publication produced by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS). Its contents in no way represent the policies, views, or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

FBIS collects, translates, disseminates, and analyzes foreign open-source information on behalf of the U.S. Government. Its publications may contain copyrighted material. ***Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.***

— Bracketed indicators before the first sentence of each item describe the way in which the material was processed by FBIS.

— Headlines and all bracketed explanatory notes are supplied by FBIS.

— Personal and place names are rendered in accordance with the decisions of the U.S. Board on Geographic Names as adapted by FBIS. Unverified names in radio and television material appear in parentheses and are spelled phonetically; words and phrases in parentheses preceded by a question mark are unclear in the original and deduced from context.

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

U.S. Government Customers

For a list of FBIS products, to subscribe to an FBIS publication, or to indicate a change of address contact:

FBIS
P.O. Box 2604
Washington, DC 20013-2604
Telephone: (202) 338-6735
FAX: (703) 733-6042

Non-Government Customers

Subscriptions are available from the National Technical Information Service:

NTIS
5285 Port Royal Road
Springfield, VA 22161
Telephone: (703) 487-4630
FAX: (703) 321-8547

New subscribers should expect a 30-day delay in receipt of the first issue.